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THE

INDIAN ARCHIPELAGO;

ITS

HISTORY AND PRESENT STATE.

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ITS

HISTORY AND PRESENT STATE.

BY

HORACE ST. JOHN,

AUTHOR OF

"HISTORY OF THE BRITISH CONQUESTS IN INDIA,"

"LIFE OF CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS,"

ETC.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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TO

THOMAS ROSCOE, ESQ.

My dear Mr. Roscoe,

This Book could never be to me the source of a deeper pleasure than I feel in dedicating it to you. There is no one to whom I could offer such a tribute with more sincerity of admiration and regard. It would, however, be little graceful in me to expatiate on your learning and literary power, when these have a durable monument in every work that has proceeded from your accomplished pen. My affectionate eulogium could only repeat those public praises which have extended your reputation wherever Letters are known. It is, too, more delightful to record this testimony to a personal attachment which continually increases, and to a respect which has not only survived familiarity, but is heightened by the intercourse of every hour.

I, therefore, dedicate my Book to you as the memorial of a friendship which sprang up so many years ago, and has flourished so well in the warmth of your hospitable fireside. I hope, naturally, that it will be favourably received; but, if it be, I know that no one will experience a more kind and genuine gratification than yourself. The sympathy of kindred pursuits will tell you the difficulties of my task; your friendly solicitude will induce you to wish that I may have been successful.

HORACE ROSCOE ST. JOHN.

Regent's Park, February, 1853.

PREFACE.

In this Work I have described the progress of European trade and conquest in the Asiatic Archipelago. When public curiosity was first excited by the enterprise of Sir James Brooke many inquiries were made into the history and condition of the innumerable islands scattered over the Indian Ocean. I, therefore, thought that there would be some value in a book on this subject. I knew of none which professed to describe the whole region, and narrate the adventures of Europeans on its shores and waters, since a time when navigation was timid and trade was the privilege of one fortunate power. My studies had for a long period been directed to the East, and I spent some years in preparing to write the present Work.

These volumes, then, have cost much time and much pains: whether they possess the value which I aimed at conferring on them others will decide; but be this as it may, I think no apology is necessary for having bestowed on such a subject so much patience and so much care. The Indian Archipelago has been too generally neglected. Portuguese and Spaniards, English and Dutch, have long carried on a commercial intercourse with its inhabitants, and these four nations have long contended for a share or a monopoly of its trade. Ancient European settlements exist on many of the coasts. Reports have long been

circulated among all trading communities of the wealth and the capabilities abounding throughout the region, yet we have been content to leave it in a dubious obscurity until, in the imaginations of most persons, a sort of mythical gloom appeared to envelope the distant islands of Asia.

The Indian Archipelago, however, is worth the attention of a great commercial people. The multitude, the variety, and the beauty of its natural productions, are beginning to be familiarly known. It is, doubtless, one of the most important parts of Asia. There are within its circumference, indeed, no immense cultured plains like those of Europe or the continent of India; there are no pastoral nations dwelling in tents and leading their flocks from steppe to steppe, like those of the two Tartaries; there are no hunting tribes, like those which drive the elk and the buffaloe over the Western Savannahs. But there are in the Eastern Archipelago the chief islands of the world, the most prolific soils, the rarest products, the most picturesque and brilliant scenes.

The history of those islands is not the barren history of savages. Glimpses into the remoter periods show a wonderful episode in the fortunes of mankind. The vestiges of an antique civilisation exist in Java, the shrines of gods and the oracles of priests, whose race has passed away,—the symbols and the dedications of an extinct religion. Edifices whose builders are unknown are inscribed with the characters of a language which has died out with the ruling caste that used it. In Borneo and the Malay Peninsula are hordes of men who practise the most primitive manners of our species. Throughout the islands there are traces of migrations and the growth

of tribes which give questions to the ethnographers of a future day. An ancient intercourse on the one side with India, on the other with China, on the other with the Red Sea, only glimmers out through the twilight of history. It is still doubtful whether a new continent is rising through the floods of the Chinese, the Indian, and the Pacific oceans, or whether the islands are so many Ararats, remaining after a deluge which, at an unrecorded era, covered all the lowlands of Asia.

In their actual aspect and capabilities also these countries exhibit phases the most interesting. Their varied scenery, their mineral and vegetable riches, the religious customs and peculiarities of their people, are all worth inquiry. Their beasts and fish, their reptiles and their insects are very imperfectly known: with portraits of their birds Audubon might have filled a work as magnificent as that which he dedicated to the winged creatures of America.

Consequently, to the most general reader there are abundant materials of interest in a view of the Indian Archipelago.

But for those who feel a peculiar solicitude in the affairs of the East, and the fortunes of our countrymen there, no common importance attaches to the Indian Archipelago. Sir James Brooke, several years ago, prepared amid its waters the foundations of a new dominion; Lord Palmerston's diplomacy added to the explorer's efforts the influence of a powerful state. He foiled the foreign intrigues that were busy around him, and by recognising and aiding him gave a breadth to the basis of his policy.

There is a romance in all the history of the Indian Islands, but there is no episode more romantic than that of this Englishman's adventures in Borneo — of his rising

from the condition of a private gentleman to be the prince of an Indian state. Already the fruits of his enterprise are seen. He rules with beneficent authority over a contented people. A provident liberality is storing up resources for the future. Peace and abundance in Sarawak have made that a populous and blooming province amid the general misery and decay of the Malayan countries. A new commerce is rising along the shore. Piracy is beginning to disappear, and the influence of Great Britain is felt in a quarter of the East where the Dutch had long sought to extinguish it.

The policy of Holland has been directed to exclude all other nations from the ports of the Eastern Archipelago. She has endeavoured to absorb every native state within her dominion, recognised or indirect. While this policy was pursued in a dignified manner, through the usual modes, or even by the usual arts of diplomacy, it could not be violently condemned. England is supreme on the Asiatic Continent; Holland desires supremacy among the Asiatic islands. It is a reasonable aspiration for a commercial power. It is a blameless ambition to rival that magnificent and marvellous empire which the statesmen and the soldiers of Great Britain have built up between the utmost boundaries of India.

If Holland had been successful it is not the destruction of the Malay or any other Asiatic governments that humanity would have regretted. Their imbecility is as incurable as their despotism is ferocious. They deserve only ruin. They are at once proud and corrupt, despotic and feeble. They have no desire and no ability for good, but they have lost none of their power to curse with injustice and extortion the populations submitted to their

sway. When the last of these decrepid governments is overwhelmed it will be fortunate for the native races, whatever foreign flag may replace the symbols of their indigenous tyranny.

I do not, therefore, lament the fair conquests of the Dutch. But the Dutch have not always moved within the circle drawn about them by justice and the acknowledged law of nations. They have frequently, absolutely and deliberately, contravened the treaty of 1824. They have outraged our merchants. They have obstructed our legitimate action. They have returned to monopolies which they had consented to forego. They have resorted to equivocal arts, and sometimes to unequivocal force, to impede the extension of our trade. They have declared their authority paramount over territories which they cannot be allowed to possess, because they have not fulfilled with respect to them the distinct stipulations of the Treaty of London.

Recently the Dutch have pursued a more liberal policy. Such a policy has rewarded them richly in Java; and it would lose them nothing if they adopted it more faithfully in their intercourse with other nations; yet their statesmen are as jealous, and their territorial claims are as extravagant, as ever.

A considerable portion of this Work is devoted to the subject of piracy. So much has been asserted and contradicted in reference to this question that an account of the actual system—the origin, the progress, the devastations, and the haunts of the freebooters, cannot but be useful.

The plan of this Book is simple. It commences with a general view of the Archipelago, discusses lightly the

origin and spread of the Malayan race, and goes rapidly over the periods intervening between that remote and problematical era and the arrival of the Portuguese. It then follows the order of time and describes the adventures of Europeans in the Archipelago to the present hour. An account is given of each important island or group as it falls into the current of the narrative. When events are brought down to 1840 the general description of piracy is introduced, followed by an outline, which I have the best reason to think is correct, of Sir James Brooke's extraordinary proceedings. In the other portions some errors may be discovered, though I have endeavoured conscientiously to avoid them. But I may claim the only merits which a writer can ascribe to himself, diligence and integrity. There is nothing purposely distorted, and there is nothing drawn from the imagination. In the descriptive passages, especially, there is not a touch or tint that I cannot justify by recent and good authority.

I have been assisted largely by friends in the East, who have placed interesting papers in my hands. I have made use especially of an important manuscript narrative of adventures among the pirates of Borneo, written by a gentleman who was present at all the late transactions.

To former works on the Archipelago I have invariably referred whenever I have made use of them. Besides a multitude of others there are those of Crawfurd, Raffles, Marsden, Temminck, Keppel, Mundy, Earl, Forrest, Dampier, Newbold, Faria y Sousa, Zuniga, Walton's Discourse, Hugh Low, and Belcher, with the contributions of Mr. Logan and several other writers to that valuable publication the *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*. The *Singapore Free Press*, also, has been exceedingly useful.

I regret that I had not, before finishing my task, an opportunity of studying Mr. J. R. Logan's paper, on the ethnic connection between the basin of the Ganges and the Indian Archipelago, just read before the ASIATIC SOCIETY. It will be fortunate if more inquiry be in future directed to the Eastern Islands by the members of that learned and distinguished body.

I have to express my thanks in the first place to Sir James Brooke, whose kindliness and friendliness are among the qualities which have won him so much affection among the poor Dyaks of Sarawak. And next, I may be permitted to acknowledge the assistance I have derived from my brothers, Spenser St. John and James Augustus St. John, junior, who are residents in the Archipelago, and have given me some very curious and exact information.

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THE

INDIAN ARCHIPELAGO,

ITS

HISTORY AND PRESENT STATE.

CHAPTER I.

Situation of the Archipelago.

Its riches.

Early rumours of it in Europe.

BETWEEN New Holland and the south-eastern shores of the Asiatic continent, the Indian Ocean rolls, through many channels, into the Pacific. Its waters, flowing over the Line, are there studded by those magnificent islands—the chosen seats of Arabian fable—which form the Oriental Archipelago. The most rare, the most precious, the most remarkable products of the earth are discovered among them—commodities for which mariners in early ages ventured to explore the last confines of the habitable globe. These, in the remoter periods of maritime research, deluded the voyager with the hope of riches and splendour unimagined even in romance.[1] Illusory fancies of trade and empire dazzled the mind of Europe,—vast heathen countries, and regions transcending in their beauty the legendary isles. It was

[1] Temminck, *Coup d'Œil sur l'Inde Archipélagique*, ii. 128.

Fame of the East.

the merchant's ambition to freight his ship in the Indies with spices, gums, gold, and pearls; with camphor, odoriferous woods, drugs, dyes, frankincense, and ivory; and that quarter of the world supposed to abound in these treasures was the Pharos of commercial adventure.[1]

Voyages in search of India.

The discoverers of America and South Africa fell in with those countries while pursuing the track to India, and all the researches of geographers in other divisions of the world were promoted to gain a more sure and safe approach to the "Gardens of the Sun"[2]—the banks of *Nardifer Ganges*[3]—the Happy Islands, that glowed with all the riches and beauty of the earth under an Asiatic sky. Of the Archipelago, a vague rumour floated through Europe after the enterprise of the two Venetian brothers, who embarked in the year 1250[4], and were entertained with hospitable splendour at the city of the King of Kings, Kublai, Khan of the Tartar nations. Marco Polo, after them, bewildered the inhabitants of the Old World by his accounts of crimson canopies and damasks, of green velvets crusted with rubies, emeralds and sapphires[5]; of cars laden with stuffs daily passing in thousands through the gates of Kambalu. The delusions of romance and reverie never excelled the current reports of capitals and provinces in the East[6]; of the jewelled vases in the palace of the Khan; of the purple light that fell from perfumed lamps around his couch[7]; of

The earliest travellers.

Marco Polo.

Tales of the travellers.

[1] Trade of the Indian Islands. Edin. Rev. xxix. 36.
[2] Hazlitt, *Plain Speaker*, i. 116.
[3] So called by "Gratius the Faliscian," *Cynegeticon*, 46.
[4] Ramusio, ii. 17.
[5] Prevost, *Hist. des Voyages*, 27., iv. 3.
[6] Anth. Jenkinson, Hakluyt's *Collection*, i. 387.
[7] Lamps perfumed with camphor. Valmont de Bomare, i. 548.

he silver, silks, and spices, of the myriad of bridges, and other architectural marvels of Quinsai [1], the pearls and rubies of Zipangu. Temples and cupolas flaming with gold, every river gleaming with auriferous sand, every grove and thicket emitting fragrance, and all the earth loaded with glitter, beauty, and profusion — this, in the narratives of the time [2], represents not only the Indian continent but the Archipelago also as a realisation of that celestial paradise conceived in a later day, — a countless array of islands scattered over interminable waters, — "islands that were covered with fruit and flowers, and interwoven with a thousand little shining seas that ran in among them." [3]

Real riches and aspect of the Archipelago.

If this enchanted prospect was changed when discovery penetrated to the further East, stores of real wealth, and pictures of real beauty, were found to replace the visions which dissolved. The latest and least imaginative travellers [4] describe in the Indian Archipelago magnificence and riches unrivalled in any other part of the world [5]; a magnificence, however, barbarous and wild, and riches neglected by the possessors of them.[6] The region, indeed, exhibited in a general view, presents an extraordinary and interesting subject of observation.

Extent of the Archipelago.

No other collection of groups in the world is equal in extent to the Indian Archipelago. A length including forty degrees of longitude [7] close to the line, from the western point of Sumatra to the parallel of

[1] Marsden's Marco Polo, *Travels*.
[2] As Humphrey Fitzherbert, *Purchas*, i. 698.
[3] Addison, *Vision of Mirza*.
[4] Berncastle, *Voyage*, i. 273.
[5] J. R. Logan, *Journ. Ind. Arch.* i. 9.
[6] Anderson, *Mission to Sumatra*, 39, 40.
[7] Longitude from 95° to 135° East; latitude, from 11° South to 19° North.

the Arru isles, with a breadth of thirty, from the Sandelwood to Luzon, comprehends an area of five millions and a half of square statute, or four millions and a half of geographical miles. Around it are spread, as about a centre, the most famous and civilised nations of Asia, who make it their highway of maritime traffic. On the east, China lies within three days' sail; on the west, three weeks will carry a ship to the ports of the Red Sea; the monsoon brings a vessel in fifteen days from Hindùstan; Europe may be reached in ninety, and Western America in fifty days.[1] Steam has contracted these distances, and brought the races of the Archipelago within easier reach of the Old and the New World.

Its central situation.

Classification of the islands.

The Archipelago, if we do not include New Guinea within its limits, contains two islands, Borneo and Sumatra, of the first class, inferior in size only to Australia; one of the second, Java, with the Malay Peninsula, of equal extent; three of the third—Celebes, Luzon, and Mindanao, each as large as the most considerable of the West India group; and of the fourth, at least sixteen,—Bali, Lombok, Sumbawa, Chandana, Flores or Mangarai, Timor, Ceram, Bouru, Gilolo, Palawan, Negros, Samar, Mindoro, Panay, Leyte, and Zebu — most of them with spacious alluvial tracts, navigable rivers, and many natural riches. The groups and chains in which they are distributed are dispersed over narrow seas with the greater islands intervening. Innumerable channels and passages, therefore, open in every direction to the mariner, — tortuous, intricate, full of rocks, reefs, and shoals, which render them in some parts difficult of navigation.[2] They are

Distribution of them

Characteristics of navigation.

[1] Crawfurd, *Indian Archipelago*, i. 3.

[2] Groot, *Moniteur*, i. 53.

made less dangerous, however, by the prevailing serenity of the waters, the regularity of the currents, and the steadiness of the winds. Tremendous storms, indeed, occasionally visit the Straits of Malacca [1], or rage over the China Sea; but they are rare, and the islands of the interior region may be said to lie amid perpetual calm.

Seas of the Archipelago.

There are five different seas recognised by European geography within the limits of the Indian Archipelago: the wide expanse between Borneo and the Malay Peninsula; another between Borneo and Java, called the Java Sea; another between Celebes and Timor; the Sea of Celebes between that island, Sulu and Mindanao; and the fifth, a basin of considerable extent between the Philippines, Palawan and Borneo. Around all these flow, on the west, the Bay of Bengal and the Indian Ocean; on the south the Australian waters, and on the north the China Sea, while eastward spreads the wilderness of the Pacific, still imperfectly explored. From the west there are, through the long island wall formed by Sumatra and Java, only two approaches—the Straits of Sunda and Malacca; along the southern boundary is extended a line 1600 miles in length from Java to Timor-laut, with outlets into the Pacific, numerous but narrow. On the east, broad passages are open, and, northward, unsafe and intricate channels lead between the Philippines, Palawan, and Borneo, with three others more commodious and secure, formed by the small islands of Biliton and Banca, in the sea between Borneo and Sumatra.[2] All over the surface are scattered an infinite number of little groups, increasing the intricacy of the

Boundaries.

Approaches to the Archipelago.

[1] Berncastle, *Voyage*, i. 274.

[2] Crawfurd, *Indian Archipelago*, i. 7.

navigation, and generally separated from the larger islands by straits of insignificant depth.[1]

Its tropical position.

The whole Archipelago lies under a tropical sky. It is divided nearly in the centre by the equinoctial line, and, excepting the Philippines, almost the whole is situated within 10° of that imaginary girdle of the earth. It is, indeed, the only part of Asia seated upon or close to it. A general uniformity, therefore, in climate, in productions, and races of people[2], prevails; yet there are characteristic differences which authorised an able geographer[3] to distribute the whole into five divisions. Excluding the savage tribes, the remnant of another race, the general resemblance of all the islanders may indeed uphold the theory of their common descent[4] with the Tartars and Chinese[5]; but the accidents of history, of climate, situation, and intercourse with the different nations, have modified them into peculiar habits, manners, language, laws, and forms of civilisation. The first group comprehends the Malay Peninsula, Sumatra, Java, Bali, Lombok, and two thirds of Borneo, as far as the parallel of 116° E. longitude: all these have a higher class of productions, a superior soil, inhabitants more polished, educated to letters, arts and arms, and feeding generally on rice, which is produced abundantly for their supply.

Uniformity of its characteristics.

Geographical divisions.

The first group.

The second group.

In the second division, Celebes occupies the centre of a group including Bouton and Saleyer, the whole chain from 116° east longitude, to 124°, and all of Borneo within that limit, up to 3° of north latitude. Its animals and vegetables assimilate in character; the land is in-

[1] Temminck, *Coup d'Œil*, i. 332.
[2] See Earl, *Journ. Ind. Arch.* iv. 67.
[3] Crawfurd, *Indian Archipelago*, i. 7.
[4] Raffles, *History of Java*, i. 64.
[5] Buchanan, *Asiatic Researches*, v. 219. 8vo.

ferior, and less suited to the culture of grain; the people have advanced to some extent in useful arts, have a peculiar and uniform system of language, manners, and institutions, feed on rice, which is more sparely yielded to their use, and occasionally content themselves with sago.

The third division is remarkably distinct, extending from longitude 124° to 130° E., and latitude 10° S. to 2° N. Here the monsoons change their character. The eastern, which towards Bengal is dry and temperate, is here boisterous and rainy; the western, which in the first two divisions is violent and wet, is here mild and dry. Its plants and animals also for the most part disappear, to be replaced by peculiar productions, — the nutmeg and the clove, — while the soil favours little the cultivation of rice; and the people feed chiefly on sago.[1] The third group.

The fourth division is less distinct, extending from 116° to 128° E., and from latitude 4° to 10° N., and including the north-east angle of Borneo, Mindanao and the group of Sulu. It produces nutmegs and cloves, but of inferior quality; some rice and large quantities of sago, while the people with peculiar language, customs, and institutions, hold a place between the first and second and the third classes of the insular population. They are little addicted to honourable industry, and have always been notorious as promoters of the piratical system.[2] The fourth group.

The fifth group is the Philippines, excluded by some from their considerations of the Archipelago.[3] They are the only islands in those waters which are habitually The fifth group.

[1] Forrest, *Voyage*, 42., *Journ. Ind. Arch.* iii. 228.

[2] Raffles, *Memoirs*, i. 63.; Muntinghe, *Rapport*, 1818; Brooke *Journal*, "Keppel," ii. 191.

[3] Raffles, *History of Java*, i. 64.

visited by hurricanes. Their soil is fertile; producing tobacco, sugar[1], and excellent rice, but no pepper, no fine spices[2], and none of those exquisite fruits which in Sumatra load the groves, in a perfection of beauty and flavour.[3]

General aspect of the Archipelago.

If, however, we recognise this distribution of the Archipelago into geographical groups, it is not because a regularity of arrangement or an obvious division is discernible between the several islands. On the contrary, the eye, ranging over its whole surface, sees nowhere the similitude of any plan. Borneo lies in the centre, vast, magnificent, only half explored, and surrounded by a maze of shores and seas — the stately and beautiful surface of Java and Sumatra, the rich and romantic aspect of the Spice Isles, the lines of open coast sweeping along the Pacific — the waves here resting placidly within a circle of land, there running through an infinity of channels shaded by the green banks that border them, flowery to the very edge, and now expanding into wide sunny seas, sprinkled with little fairy archipelagoes, with glimpses of a long coast appearing at intervals on the horizon.

Relations with Continental Asia.

Depth of the sea.

In its relation with the continent of Asia, the Archipelago rests obviously on the same great platform, though its geological history is as yet too problematical to be traced. Many parts of the sea are shallow, and may gradually, by the upheaving of the land, be dried up. The probable truth is, that the whole is rising, as an extension of the Asiatic mass; mountains and hills having first appeared above the sea level, and alluvial plains afterwards spreading out between them. The

[1] John Wise, *Account of the Philippines*, unpublished.
[2] Crawfurd, *Indian Archipelago*, i. 11.
[3] Marsden, *History of Sumatra*, 86.

peninsula is, geographically, continued in a chain of islets and rocks to Banca, and almost connected with Sumatra[1], whose ranges lie parallel with it. Borneo and Celebes may represent the eastern and broader arm of the Hindu-Chinese prolongation, from which they are separated by the area of the China Sea, supposed to be subsiding; and the whole Archipelago is included within a great volcanic curve, sprung from the heart of Asia itself.[2] Plutonic forces have influenced with tremendous power the configuration of those regions, heaving up the bed of the ocean, breaking masses of land from the continent, cleaving islands into two, and throwing the whole into extraordinary confusion.[3] The great convulsions probably took place at a period anterior to all the records of human history; but the telluric agency is still active, though it has a vent through the craters of the numerous volcanic hills existing in the Archipelago. A range of this formation intersects the whole length of Java[4], spreading out streams of lava, the surface of which is gradually decomposed and rendered fit for vegetation.[5] Large tracts in Sumatra[6] are abandoned entirely to the hot floods perpetually blasting their woods[7]; the eruptions in Sumbawa have been terrible enough to be heard at a distance of 970 miles; and all over the islands, indeed, living or extinct craters, or the traces of their existence, meet the eye[8] — some where a whole population has

Volcanic action in the Archipelago.

Volcanoes now active.

Traces of volcanic eruptions.

[1] Newbold, *Settlements in Malacca*, i. 402.
[2] J. R. Logan, *Journ. Ind. Arch.* i. 3.
[3] See on the configuration of the Spice Isles, *Raynal*, i. 119.
[4] Raffles, *History of Java*, i. 13.
[5] Horsfield, *Batavian Transactions*, ix. 73.
[6] Marsden, *History of Sumatra*, 22.
[7] Temminck, *Coup d'Œil*, ii. 77.
[8] *Phil. Trans. Abridg.* ii. 393.

been swept away[1]; others, where salt, mineral, and exploding wells sprinkle all the country[2]; and others where basalt, lava, ashes, the wrecks of forests, and broken rocks, exhibit every sign of recent convulsion.[3]

Whether the Archipelago is a new continent rising, or the debris of an old one?

Whether, nevertheless, the platform of the Archipelago ever lay above the level of the sea, or is gradually rising towards it[4]; whether it was the sinking of a continent that deluged all the lowlands of Asia, leaving only the mountain summits visible; or whether its elevation was arrested by the exhaustion of the volcanic forces, are questions for separate discussion; but it does not seem more reasonable to believe that insular Asia is the debris of a sunk and shattered continent, rather than the commencement of a new one emerging above the line.[5] The latter theory, indeed, appears preferable, especially as the growth of many islands in the Archipelago is daily and visibly going on[6]; whether their sea-margins are enlarged by decaying vegetation[7], or whether the submarine architects carry up a series of madreporous structures, which become clothed with verdure as soon as they are open to the atmosphere.[8]

Be this as it may, the forms and positions of the islands are evidently of very ancient date; determined, indeed, at a period long antecedent to their subsidence or elevation. One prolonged throe of nature reared up

[1] Raffles, *History of Java*, i. 33.

[2] Ref. to *Ordinaria*, by Dallas, *Hist. of Volcanoes*, 249.

[3] Walton, *Preliminary Discourse*, 67.

[4] See Deluc, *Traité de Géologie*, 136.

[5] J. R. Logan, *Journ. Ind. Arch.* i. 3.

[6] Anderson, *Mission to Sumatra*, 197.

[7] Brooke, *Journal*, "Keppel," i. 19.

[8] Temminck, *Coup d'Œil*, i. 332. T. K. Hervey, in his brilliant and sublime poem on "Australia," has versified this theory, which he appears to adopt.

the peaks of the Himalaya, spread out the fat and fertile levels of Bengal, and scattered over the Oriental seas those beautiful islands on which the action of the water, mutual with the influence of the air, has produced a perpetual bloom and freshness of vegetation. The bank of black mud, though daily overflowed, is shaded by a thick wood; the coral tower scarcely lifts its head above the waves before it seems a floating basket of flowers; the granitic rocks, and the volcanic cones, lofty as they may be, are wrapped in everlasting green. Nowhere on the globe is a scene so wonderful displayed, as that revealed to the navigator in the Indian Archipelago. It seems a magical confusion of land and sea, islands innumerable appearing over the horizon, and multiplying as he proceeds.[1] From the broad and turbulent ocean without, the vessel glides through the Straits of Sunda — gateways, as it were, in a wall two thousand miles in length, — upon tranquil waters, limited by green shores every where, except where narrow seas and channels on all sides seem to lead into other archipelagoes. The variety of extent and form is extraordinary. A ship might be months sailing round one island, while it may in other parts pass through several groups in a day. In the widest sea a circle drawn within a radius of two days' sail would touch more land than water, while almost always as a shore disappears on the left, coasts innumerable rise in prospect on the right.

Formation of the islands.

Activity of vegetation.

Beauty of vegetation.

Aspect of the islands.

Variety of extent and form.

Narrowness of the seas.

But the peculiar charm of the Archipelago is the fresh green perpetually displayed. Its atmosphere is of equinoctial warmth, yet continually charged with moisture[2], purified by season winds, and so fecundating that the very rocks shortly become fertile. Round

Brilliance of the verdure.

[1] *Manuscript Notes of a Traveller*, March, 1852.

[2] Newbold, *Settlements in Malacca*, i. 4.

the larger islands lie rings of smaller ones described as resembling floating gardens, umbrageous and flowery, on waters so blue and gleaming that they would dazzle but for the shadows of the clouds reflected in them. In other quarters there is the sublimity of lofty ranges, but instead of glaciers or snows, one invariable forest overlays them all, the peaks inflamed with that rose-red glow, seen on the Swiss Alps, and emitting curls of smoke [1], which shine like scattered gold-dust in the sun. [2]

Forests of the Indian Islands.

Landscape in Java.

These woods overspread a large proportion of the surface in most of the islands, though in some, as in Java, the eye is delighted by a series of cultivated hills and park-like slopes, curving gracefully upwards from the sea [3], with all the processes of agriculture exhibited in succession, from ploughing to reaping, according to the temperature, which is regulated by the elevation of the land. [4]

Woods of Borneo and Sumatra.

Parasitical vegetation.

Flowers.

Birds.

In Borneo and Sumatra, however, dense forests extend over large tracts:—trees of gigantic stature, of abundant foliage, and hung with a thousand creeping plants, entangled, fantastic, brilliant with flowers, and equal in their gaudy splendour to the growth of the Brazilian woods. [5] Birds countless fill the solitude with their songs—some deep, long-drawn and shrill, others tremulous, plaintive, and wild [6], but few with sweet notes, or very melodious tones; their plumage is more beautiful than their music, and it gleams amid the branches, gold, or red, or blue, or flashes with a metallic lustre, peculiarly dazzling to

Plumage of the birds.

[1] Zollinger, *Journ. Ind. Arch.* iv. 204.
[2] J. R. Logan, *Journ. Ind. Arch.* i. 6.
[3] Earl, *Eastern Seas*, 5.
[4] Crawfurd, *Indian Archipelago*, i. 363.
[5] Prince Adalbert's *Travels*, ii. 240.
[6] Adams, in Belcher, *Voyage of the Samarang*, ii. 434.

the eye.[1] From the boughs also hang snakes, green and velvety, or like a roll of coral, some harmless, others deadly, falling through the leaves, or gliding amid the tangled flowers and grass.[2] Insects of splendid hues and in immense variety animate the solitudes of Celebes and Borneo — the bronze green beetle, emitting a perfume like attar of roses[3]; the silver-winged butterfly, and myriads of grasshoppers. Snakes. Insects.

The Indian gazelle, herds of elephants, the rhinoceros, the tiger, the tapir, the barbirusa, the mias pappan, the sloth, and the buffalo, also inhabit the woods of the great islands, while in the smaller groups, as the Moluccas, if these creatures are rare others more curious are found, especially of the winged species. More beautiful than any are the birds of paradise — *discolores maxime et inenarrabiles*[4] —, fabled to be the messengers of God, who fly towards the sun, but overpowered by the fragrance of the isles over which they pass, sink to the earth, and fall into the hands of man.[5] The lori and the Argus pheasant[6], the cream-coloured pigeon, and those "atoms of the rainbow," the Cinnyris or sun birds, gleam and glitter amid the foliage; while to perfect the beauty of the islands fields of the Indian lotus and the tiger lily, sprinkled with patches of scarlet or violet flowers, surround the woods, or border the large sheets of water. Animals. Birds of Paradise. Other birds. Flowers.

Alligators in great numbers haunt the mangrove creeks and rivers, with lizards of innumerable species. Fragile and richly tinted shells, the olive and the harp, coloured like the most beautiful tulips[7], strew Living creatures. Shells.

[1] Latham, iii. 10. 72.
[2] Hugh Low, *Sarawak*, 89.
[3] Adams, in Belcher, *Voyage*, ii. 431.
[4] Plin. lib. x. c. 11.
[5] Linn. *Syst.* 166.; *Pl. Ent.* 254.
[6] See Pennant, *Outlines*, iii. 195.
[7] See Saint Pierre, *Etudes*, iii. 67., Adams.

Rocks and seaweed.

Fish:

Malayan mermaid.

the sand of the beach, which is in many parts fringed with sea-weed and rocks in the shape of stars, flowers, or shrubs. The sea is inhabited by multitudes of fish — some of them exceedingly curious and rare, as the Malayan mermaid, food of kings[1], which suggested that romance so pleasing to the Oriental imagination.[2]

Beauty of the whole region.

In its aspect, therefore, and in the singular features of its natural history the Indian Archipelago is equal to the most beautiful regions of the earth. It is indeed difficult to describe its magnificence without employing language which might appear exaggerated or profuse; but the residents at Singapore, and travellers who visit the islands, concur in representing them as in their brilliance and variety the crown of Asia. "Nature," says a writer who fears that the subdued and softened fancy of a northern reader can scarcely be credulous of the splendour of this region — "Nature, which in other parts of the world, secretes her beauty, has here ungirdled herself, and given her wild and glowing charms in all their fulness to the eye of day."[3]

Testimony of writers.

Commercial and agricultural resources.

Productions.

The commercial and agricultural wealth of the islands will be described in detail, as each of the more important of them is drawn within the circle of the narrative. Their minerals, their precious stones, their cereal produce, varied and abundant as it is, their costly gums and valuable woods, their singular riches in commodities found in no other parts of the earth, render them conspicuous in a view of Asia; though they have never yet attracted the enterprise of Europe so strongly as to secure the development of their resources. The climate of the Archipelago has not long been compre-

Neglect of the Archipelago.

[1] *Edinburgh Cabinet Library*, viii. 76.
[2] Newbold, *Settlements in Malacca*, i. 437.
[3] J. R. Logan, *Journ. Ind. Arch.* i. 9.

hended even by scientific inquirers, and the proportion of men is not large who will venture to reside in deadly countries, even for the sake of superior gain. To the native races it is naturally harmonised; they are singularly free from inflammatory disorders, less exposed to fever and dysentery than the natives of the West, and strangers to pestilent epidemics of every kind, except the smallpox. This, introduced probably from Arabia, makes considerable ravages among them, especially in Java, and on some of the rivers in Celebes [1] and Eastern Borneo. [2] Gout is unknown, scrofula rare, while dropsy, apoplexy, epilepsy, and paralysis occur less frequently than in Europe. Cutaneous affections [3] prevail very largely, and are ascribed by the islanders to the extensive consumption of fish, as various tribes of Icthyophagi are afflicted by them to an extraordinary degree. Among children ill-chosen and badly-prepared food produces many disorders, not incident to the climate; marsh and jungle fevers visit the uncleared tracts of country, and the diseases of profligacy introduced by Europeans — the Portuguese [4], it is said — are frequent in all the islands, but especially in Java. Yet on the whole the native races are happy in their exemption from the worst maladies which oppress mankind. The bearing of children is easy [5], as indeed it is among all uncivilised people, the savage Dyak woman suffering less than the more cultivated Malay, introduced to the first refinements of luxury. [6]

Climate.

Diseases.

Child-bearing.

To Europeans the climate of the Archipelago, if not congenial, is by no means destructive. A long residence may indeed give an unhealthy tinge to the

Effect of climate on Europeans.

[1] Brooke, *Journal*, "Mundy," i. 154. [2] Moor's *Notices*, 37.
[3] Dampier, *Voyages*, i. 334. [4] Pigaffetta, *Voyage*, 215, 216.
[5] Crawfurd, *Indian Archipelago*, i. 36.
[6] Hugh Low, *Sarawak*, 307.

cheek, affect the blood, turn the hair grey, and ultimately prey upon the constitution; but there is little sickness or languor felt, the general state of the body is excellent, careful persons enjoy life as truly as in England[1], and many parts of the Archipelago are so salubrious that they serve as places of refuge to the invalid. Java, with some of the most baneful spots in the world[2], is on the whole most congenial to the human frame[3]; in Celebes a fresh invigorating atmosphere usually prevails; Sarawak has a fine climate; and in almost all the islands Europeans may reside as safely as in the most favoured parts of Asia. It is not, indeed, entirely suited to their constitution; but it is by no means fatal, or even dangerous. Settlers from all parts of the East live and thrive among the islands.

Climate of Java.

Population.

There is, perhaps, no circumstance in the physical and natural history of the Archipelago which has been without a marked influence on the character of its inhabitants; but none has been more powerful than the mixture of foreign races, — Chinese, Hindus, people of the mingled nations lying between them, Persians, Japanese, Arabs, Klings, Portuguese, Dutch, English, — all conceivable varieties of mankind, — have added new elements to the already compound population of that insular region, made up of the Malayan and Papuan families. As the Archipelago, however, is but a prolongation of the Asiatic mass, so the inhabitants are but a branch of the great race of Eastern Asia—Hindu-Chinese, probably[4], on the one hand, and Papuan on the other, though whence these originated, how they were scattered, and

Diversity of population.

Original inhabitants.

[1] *Private Diary of a Resident*, unpublished.
[2] Raynal, *Etablissement*, i. 293.
[3] Raffles, *Hist. of Java*, i. 37.
[4] See *Asiatic Researches*, x. 202, 203.

how mingled and divided, it is impossible now to tell.[1] Two eras have been distinguished in their history — that when some wanderers from the birthplace of our species, on the table lands of Asia, slowly traversing the south-eastern valleys and ranges[2], became nomades of the jungle instead of the plains, and then nomades of the sea; the second, when these pelasgic hordes, spread in numerous petty communities over the Archipelago, were discovered by civilised navigators from the continent.[3] There is, undeniably, a Mongol caste in the countenance of the Malay, and a marked resemblance between the Tartars[4] and the nations which people the south-eastern seabord of Asia.[5] Indeed, it appears impossible to doubt that they sprang from the same stock, unless we adopt some theory like that fantastic ideal of the Genevese philosopher, which represents language as having its origin in islands, whence it spread, after reaching perfection, to the more scantily inhabited continents.[6]

History of the population. First immigration. Second immigration. Tartar origin of the Malays. Origin of languages.

Two thousand years are calculated to have elapsed since the period when the Indian islanders were discovered in their scattered retreats by voyagers and traders from continental Asia.[7] There have been nations in the East famous from the remotest time for their commercial enterprise, as there have been others, like the Persians, addicted almost entirely to agriculture.[8] The Klings of Southern India — probably a

Ancient commerce of the Archipelago. Trading nations. Agricultural nations.

[1] See J. R. Logan, *Journ. Ind. Arch.* iv. 252. 347.
[2] See Newbold, *Straits Settlements*, ii. 374.
[3] J. R. Logan, *Journ. Ind. Arch.* i. 10.
[4] See Claude Visdelou, *Hist. de la Tartarie*, 112. 152. 293.
[5] Raffles, *Memoirs*, i. 261.
[6] Rousseau, *De l'Inégalité*, Œuvres, i. 94.
[7] Edin. Rev. xxix. 45.
[8] Kinneir, *Memoir on Persia*, 35.

Visits of the Klings.

civilised maritime people ten centuries before — began then to frequent the Archipelago for the sake of its peculiar products, spreading a taste for their own manufactures, communicating their own arts and manners, with glimpses of their religion, to the island races, but remaining distinct from them. The Hindu Empire rose and flourished in Java, divided, it seems, between the Buddhist and the Brahminical creeds; the Malays sprang up and colonised the different shores; the wild aborigines gave way before this imperial nation; the Arabs brought their faith, and gradually supplanted the systems of India. Hinduism disappeared almost entirely, and now lingers only in one little island[1], and among a few wild tribes in another[2], though its traces are said to remain far scattered over the Archipelago.[3]

Rise of the Hindu empire.

Rise of the Malays.

Immigration of the Arabs.

European influence.

European progress, also, has powerfully influenced the character and fortunes of the native races in the Archipelago, but, like that of the Arabs, has too often corrupted and degraded them. This was long and lately true of the Dutch in Java, and of the Spaniards in the Philippines; but the result of the successive immigrations, settlements, conquests, and changes, has been to produce an extraordinary variety of races, colours, and languages, with a confusion of manners, customs, and laws, scarcely complete enough to divide the inhabitants of the Archipelago into many nations, yet sufficiently distinct to create salient lines of demarcation between the several groups of them. The aborigines, distributed by the geographical character of the region into numerous communities, have been further

Character of European influence.

Variety of races and institutions.

[1] Temminck, *Coup d'Œil*, i. 340.

[2] Raffles, *Address to Batavian Society*, *Life*, ii. 443.

[3] Dalton, *Asiatic Researches*, n. s. vii. 153.

isolated by foreign rule and colonisation. The superior races have frequently turned their natural eminence into a means of oppression; and, instead of drawing the natives forth from their barbarous haunts, have imprisoned them more deeply in their jungles.[1] There they have vegetated, most savage where the soil beneath their feet, the forests which shade them, and the thickets whose wild perfume they breathe, are most rich in those precious things which contribute to the arts and to the luxury of civilisation. The Battas of Sumatra inhabit a province where gold and frankincense are plentifully produced; the head-hunters of Borneo dwell in the land of costly woods, camphor, and diamonds; the people of the Moluccas, amid their groves of spice, never learned the use of letters, and roamed almost naked until the Hindus, the Javanese, the Arabs, or the Malays, coming from their less exuberant countries, taught them to clothe themselves.[2]

Stages of civilisation.

The dominant races.

The dwellers in woods.

The savage tribes.

The Moluccan race.

Therefore in this mingled population, though subdued by the influence of natural accidents to a general level, in some characteristics of language, ideas, and modes of life, we find many varieties of manners and different stages between barbarism and civilisation. In the woods we discover man, scantily clothed with a raiment of woven bark, feeding on wild fruits and the flesh of wild animals[3], which he seeks and devours like a monkey or a carnivorous beast, slaying his prey with a poisoned arrow projected from his mouth through a hollow bamboo.[4] In other islands, he lives, feeding on the "trees that beren meele, whereof men make

Dwellers in woods.

[1] J. R. Logan, *Journ. Ind. Arch.* i. 12.
[2] Crawfurd, *Indian Archipelago*, i. 15
[3] Leyden, *Asiatic Researches*, x. 218
[4] See Brooke, *Narrative*, "Mundy," i. 260.

goode bread and white;"[1] and in Sumatra, as a vile cannibal, devouring human flesh.[2] The existence of these Anthropophagi is no longer to be doubted. Their prototypes, the Issedones of Serica or the Altai[3], and the Indian Padei, did not excel them in barbarity.[4] The old reports of them have been collected by the philosophical historian of their country[5], and the researches of modern inquirers have proved their character to be as it is represented in the narratives of earlier voyagers. In the solitude of a creek or unfrequented strait, then, we find a third islander, living in a canoe—his cradle, his house, his coffin—to him what his camel is to the Arab, his horse to the Tartar; desert or pasture he has none to roam over; but the sea is all to him[6], whether he be a fisher, a pirate, or a gipsy. On plains and on the banks of rivers he tills the soil, builds a neat cottage, plants orchards, and even cultivates shrubs and flowers for their beauty and the fragrance of their bloom,—the white nyctanthes, the jessamine, and the deep crimson rose as decorations of women, with the yellow tulip to adorn their hair[7]; garlands to hang on the bier, and sweet-scented chaplets to strew over the grave.[8] Nearly all the inhabitants of the Archipelago—the Malays in Borneo, the

Cannibal tribes.

Proofs of their existence.

Dwellers in creeks.

Boat life.

The agricultural population; their industry.

Cultivation and use of flowers.

[1] Mandeville, *Travels*, 228.

[2] Anderson, *Mission to Sumatra*, 224.

[3] Herod. i. 216., iii. 99., iv. 25.

[4] Leyden, *Asiatic Researches*, ix. 202.

[5] Di Conti, 1449; Ramusio, Odoardus Barbosa, Mendez Pinto, 1539; Beaulieu, 1622; De Barros, 1558; Hamilton and Vartomanus. See Marsden, *History*, 301. See also *Phil. Trans.* lxviii.; Raffles, *Memoirs*, i. 81.; Temminck, *Coup d'Œil*, ii. 54.; J. R. Logan, *Journ. Ind. Arch.* ii. 363.

[6] Crawfurd, *Indian Archipelago*, i. 13.

[7] Marsden, *History of Sumatra*, 86.

[8] Raffles, *History of Java*, i. 358, 359.

Dyaks, the Philippine Indians, use these simple ornaments, the young girls wreathing with their tresses the golden blossoms of the champaka[1], with a taste and elegance frequently shown by uncultivated races[2]—as by the maidens of the South Sea, girdling their persons with fillets of the broad-leaved fern.[3]

Elegant taste of savage tribes.

The Indian agriculturist, in the less civilised islands, tills his land once, gathers in a store of rice, leaves the soil to a long fallow, and searches the woods for rattans, timber, odoriferous woods, gums, oils, honey, wax, ivory, hides, feathers, and fruit; or near the sea, collects trepang, seaweed, tortoise-shell, rare corals, and mother-of-pearl; or raises pepper, coffee, betel-nut, tobacco, and ginger for barter; or digs the earth for tin, antimony, gold, or diamonds; or goes on voyages of commerce, either in a little boat from river to river, or across the sea to Singapore, Batavia, Samarang, Manilla, and Makassar. It is only, however, the foreign colonists who work for the sake of accumulation. The native islanders, like the philosophical epicures of Polynesia, labour only to live, while the Kling and the Chinese toil through all the hard modes of industry to amass a fortune, with the prospect of enjoying leisure and competence during the last years of life.[4] By means of these, with the Bugis and the Malays, who are not included among the aborigines, cities and towns have sprung up on different coasts, from the prim and opulent Batavia, with its deadly swamps, its canals and avenues of trees[5], and Singapore with its crowded port and mingled popula-

Indian agriculture.

Collection of articles of traffic.

Fishing.

Cultivators.

Miners.

Traders.

Industry of the islands.

Enterprise of the Bugis.

Cities of the Archipelago.

[1] Hugh Low, *Sarawak*, 142.
[2] Macgillivray, *Voyage of the Rattlesnake*, i. 294.
[3] Walpole, *Voyage in the Pacific*, ii. 103.
[4] J. R. Logan, *Journ. Ind. Arch.* i. 14.
[5] Earl, *Eastern Seas*, 16.

tion[1], to the gay and brilliant city of Manilla[2], or the sequestered and picturesque Ambong, surrounded by its amphitheatre of hills.[3]

The piratical system.

While, however, industrial and trading communities have in some parts of the Archipelago sprung up, others have grown upon the profits of a buccaneering system, which from an early age[4] has been the scourge of the island races[5], and was not only known to the most ancient writers on that part of the world[6], but is recognised and described by the latest and most important authorities.[7] Further on in this work is a detailed description of the piratical system.

Vessels and boats.

Whether for war, piracy, or trade, the seas of the Archipelago are continually traversed by vessels of every size and description; the huge, unwieldy, and heavily freighted junk of China[8]; the painted and varnished galleys of the Cochinese; the long and lofty boat of the Lanun buccaneer; the Malayan prahu, uncouth but capacious; the light Dyak skiff; with English, Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, Arabian, and Siamese, passing and repassing in all directions; some slowly making their way from port to port; others creeping stealthily along the shores; others dashing into the entrance of rivers; but all contributing to a succession of curious and characteristic scenes, which attract the voyager's eye as he first sails through the Indian Archipelago. They would become far more numerous, and

Navigation.

[1] Berncastle, *Voyage*, ii. 11.

[2] Cunynghame, *Recollections*, ii. 150.

[3] Belcher, *Voyage of the Samarang*, i. 190.

[4] Raffles, *Memoirs*, i. 91. [5] Groot, *Moniteur*, i. 160.

[6] Heylyn, *Cosmog.* 919.; Candidius, *Church*, i. 406.

[7] Temminck, *Coup d'Œil*, ii. 240.; Logan, *Journ. Ind. Arch.* i. 15.; Belcher, i. 265.; Spenser St. John, *Journ. Ind. Arch.* iii. 253

[8] Roberts, *Embassy to the Eastern Courts*, 272.

create far greater industry and prosperity than now exist, if the merchants of Great Britain directed their attention to that part of the world, and piracy were effectually and finally suppressed. For the materials of a splendid civilisation are contained in the Oriental islands — natural riches, fertile soils, facilities for navigation, coal, timber, a fair climate, and races of men capable of being educated to the most exalted arts, and the most graceful amenities of life. They have indeed declined under European domination, from their original power; and they appear to flourish less than at that former period when native dynasties exercised rule over great islands, and received tribute from influential princes in Asia. The Malay kingdoms have perished, leaving only a few remnants to preserve their name. The States of Java and Johore, of Achin and Menangcabao have disappeared; Brunë alone, with its imbecile sultan, half pirate, half slave, remains, as a memorial of the power which once belonged to that decayed and scattered race.

Prospects of the Archipelago.

Decline of the native powers.

The ancient kingdom.

Yet, while the potentates and dominions of the Archipelago have fallen, the people still exist, susceptible of humanising influences and capable of civilisation. With the exception of those debased by piracy, or degraded by servitude, they are distinguished in general by good qualities. They have, indeed, the savage vices, — they are unclean, vindictive, careless of human life, and often deceitful in their intercourse with strangers; they have also the weaknesses common to savage as well as to many civilised races — vanity, superstition, and credulity. But they have also great virtues, — a love of truth, an attachment to open dealing among themselves, a capacity for affection, gratitude, and fidelity, a kind and courteous disposition. Obsequious and sycophant to their princes as they generally are, many

Capabilities of the native races.

The native character:

Vices.

Weaknesses.

Virtues.

of them nevertheless are very tenacious of their rights, and respectful to the rights of others. As warriors and as rulers, all barbarians, and perhaps all Asiatics, are cruel; but otherwise we do not discover ferocity or want of feeling among their vices. Pleasant and cheerful in their dispositions, they are hospitable to the last degree, and decorous in their modes of address.[1] Abstemious in their habits, they are not laborious in their industry; though where secure and tranquil under a beneficent government, their enterprise and application invariably increase.[2] The Malays and the Bugis are maritime and commercial, addicted to speculation, accustomed to distant and hazardous enterprises, and very energetic; the Javanese are agricultural, attached to the soil, quiet and contented with moderate gains[3]; the savage tribes vegetating amid their woods, require to be developed from their primitive to a more educated state, before their natural characteristics or capacities can be fairly drawn.

Dispositions.

Manners.

Aptitudes.

Commercial and agricultural tribes.

Even among them, however, the traces of an affinity in qualities and predilections with all other divisions of the human race are found. We grievously err when we set these tribes apart from the classes of mankind familiar to our own observation.[4] The difference is not so broad[5] as an unreflecting mind conceives it to be between the inhabitants of an Indian forest, and the cottagers of an English valley. They are addicted to lively amusements, fond of rude poetry, music and romance, and open to all influences which affect the

General capacity of the islanders.

Parallel with Europeans.

[1] Earl, *Eastern Seas*, 186.

[2] Crawfurd, *Indian Archipelago*, i. 38. 84.

[3] Raffles, *History*, i. 64.

[4] In what is the Dyak cultivator more primitive than the mountain peasant of Valencia, who feeds on acorns nearly all the year? Swinburne, *Travels*, i. 131.

ideas and feelings of men in any part of the world. The Jakun of the further East, though he be girdled only with bark, armed with a sumpitan and poisoned arrows, and covered by the rudest shelter in his native woods, stands in close similitude with the poor of a European country. See him with his neighbours assembling to a feast — the liquor flowing round — the dance prolonged — the song following — the young men sitting with their partners on banks of turf, drinking from bamboo cups, laughing, wooing their future wives, telling tales, and renewing the merry round — what is there to remove him from the knowledge or sympathy of any who are pleased with the rural scenes of Europe?[1] Fantastic theorists, indeed, may affect to regret that this poor savage is ever disturbed from his primitive manner of life — wandering almost solitary and speechless in the depth of woods[2]; but enlightened men must rejoice when the barbarian races of mankind are cultivated into industrious, peaceful, and Christian societies.

Savage life in the woods.

Civilisation of the islanders.

To open in detail a view of this Archipelago, to enumerate its sources of wealth, to describe its aspect, with the character and condition of the races which inhabit it, is the design of the following pages, as well as to show in what manner the Europeans were introduced to the regions and how they have gone on, step by step, assuming rule over the islands, to secure their commerce and enrich themselves from their productions. The history of the Archipelago is a picturesque and dramatic narrative, and the accounts of the countries themselves, with their inhabitants and resources, represent one of the most interesting divisions of the globe.

Design of this work.

[1] Logan, *Journ. Ind. Arch.* i. 17.

[2] Is. Vossius, *De Poemat. Cant. et Viribus Rhythmi*, 66.

CHAPTER II.

Origin of the Malays.

WANDERING from island to island in the Eastern seas, we have vainly sought for the original seat of the Malays.[1] There is a point where we are deserted by the light of written history, and beyond it every definite trace is lost in the obscurity of Indian myth.[2] At a period fixed by concurrent traditions we find a colony of this widely-spread race inhabiting a province of Sumatra, and we can certainly choose no remoter date as the commencement even of the quasi-historical era. Even in this selection we are guided only by an hereditary account, said to be universal among the Malays[3], and can claim for the relation no more than the doubtful credit of a traditionary tale. The existence of the Malays as a distinct nation has been dated by others after the arrival of the Arabs in the Archipelago.[4]

Malayan colony in Sumatra.

Date of their origin.

Sumatra.

If we accept the general theory that the Malayan kingdoms on the peninsula were founded by swarms cast off from a province of Sumatra, that island is the fountain-head of the narrative. It is interesting for many other reasons, and occupies from its extent, its natural resources, and its situation, an important rank among the insular countries of the East.

Situation of Sumatra.

Sumatra is the most western island in the Indian Archipelago. At one end it stretches into the bay of Bengal; at the other it is divided by the Sunda Straits

[1] See *Edinburgh Review*, No. XXII.

[2] Some Malayan traditions derive their sovereigns lineally from Alexander the Great! — Bedford, *Description of the Tin Countries*, unpublished MS.

[3] Crawfurd, *Indian Archipelago*, ii. 372.

[4] Raffles, *Memoirs*, i. 40.

from Java. Inferior in size only to Borneo and New Guinea, it measures more than a thousand miles in length[1], with a breadth of a hundred and forty in some parts, and of ninety as the average.[2] The surface of this extensive country is diversified by deep valleys of astonishing fertility and spacious levels covered with forest which lie between the mountain chains. A ridge of primitive formation, geographically connected with the great Asiatic range[3] runs from end to end, dividing the island into two regions of different aspect, climate, and soil. The narrower, which is situated to the west, is broken by lateral chains descending from the main and central line, and forming the extended bases of the five great volcanoes. Immense swamps stretch between, surrounding elevated points of land, and fed by a copious flow of water from the hills. On their borders grow woods where the rank verdure of the tropics hangs from tree to tree in entangled masses impenetrable by man. For ages those waste tracts have been abandoned as incapable of cultivation, and inhabited by miserable piratical tribes, like those infesting the muddy creeks between Banca and the south-eastern extremity of the island.[4]

Extent. Surface. Mountains. Swampy plains. Woods. Piratical haunts.

Among the mountains, which in many places break into double or treble lines[5], are extensive lakes picturesquely cradled among rocks and overshadowed by volcanic peaks. They are fed by perennial springs, and form the sources of innumerable rivers[6], which dis-

Lakes. Rivers.

[1] Temminck, *Coup d'Œil*, ii. 2.

[2] J. R. Logan, who makes the length 925 miles, *Journ. Ind. Arch.* iii. 345.

[3] Horsfield, *Journ. Ind. Arch.* ii. 398.

[4] Earl, *Eastern Seas*, 133.

[5] Marsden, *History of Sumatra*, 8.

[6] Anderson, *Mission to Sumatra*, 199.

charge themselves along the coast. Of these some are navigable for frigates at a considerable distance from the sea[1], others bear only native craft, and others serve alone to bestow graces on the landscapes of this beautiful country, by showering their streams over the crests of hills into natural basins of rock.[2] About one fifth of the waters of Sumatra fall into the Indian Ocean, the remainder flowing into the Straits of Malacca or the Java Sea.[3]

Waterfalls.

Plains.

The interior contains spacious alluvial plains; but so belted by woods that the rivers form the only avenues to them.[4] Profusely watered from the hills which shut them in, they yield in the small cultivated tracts the richest crops of grain, with delicious fruits in profusion. The mountain peaks are reared high, but not into the region of snow, so that the vegetation of the table lands is carried over the hills, to cover the whole island from shore to shore. The whole of the eastern coast from the Sunda Straits to Diamond Point is level and woody[5]; the northern provinces thence to Achin rise gradually from the sea to the interior ranges, and present a varied prospect of forest and cultivated tracts, enlivened at intervals by villages and towns. Numerous harbours and bays diversify the coast line, with commodious roads for shipping, sheltered from all violent winds. The climate of the island varies with its surface. The low provinces near the sea are hot, and in many parts pestilential[6]; but the temperature decreases and becomes more healthy as the land ascends, until in the high plains of the in-

General aspect.

Harbours.

Climate.

[1] Temminck, *Coup d'Œil*, ii. 25. 77.
[2] Marsden, *History of Sumatra*, 10.
[3] J. R. Logan, *Sketch of Sumatra*, *Journ. Ind. Arch.* iii. 346.
[4] Temminck, *Coup d'Œil*, ii. 79.
[5] Horsburgh, *Directory*, ii. 154.
[6] Lind, *Essay on Diseases*, 79.

terior, the people are compelled to light fires in the morning and continue them until the sun has approached his meridian.[1]

Three hundred years of intercourse with Sumatra have not enabled inquirers in Europe to become acquainted with the exact nature of its climate. In the districts which commerce has rendered familiar, men attain an extreme old age[2], but little is known of the remoter valleys and plains abandoned wholly to the reign of nature. To reclaim those unproductive wastes, and clear away the forests which overshadow them, — leaving enough, however, to attract moisture upon the soil, — Sumatra would require a population five-fold greater than any that has yet been known to inhabit it. When it has been subdued by civilisation, and become populous, its climate will be more genial, as after the great forests near the sea are felled, the swamps will dry up. Frost, snow, and hail are unknown in the island, though a misty fall follows the accumulation of clouds round the highest peaks of the hills. Thunderstorms are of frequent occurrence, and rage with magnificent effect, agitating the ground with little less violence than an earthquake.[3] They serve to purify the atmosphere, and thus increase the salubrity of the region.

Climate.

Thunderstorms.

Favoured in its situation and natural facilities for commerce, Sumatra abounds in material resources, and once disputed with Ceylon the title of Taprobane and the Golden Chersonese. It is not long, indeed, since the question was disputed[4], and all claim denied to the Malta of the Indian ocean.[5] Mount Ophir in Sumatra,

Resources.

Connection with antiquity.

[1] Marsden, *History of Sumatra*, 12.
[2] Temminck, *Coup d'Œil*, ii. 81.
[3] Marsden, *History of Sumatra*, 13.
[4] See Milford, *Essay in As. Res.* x. 144. 147.
[5] Raffles, *History of Java*, i. 4.

however, is supposed by an acute traveller[1] to derive its name from the circumstance that the people call their gold mines *ophirs;* but, had this been true, the reverse might have been equally probable, and the mines have been named from the mountain. This part of India, we are informed by an old writer, was called by the ancients, Sophora, or the Land of Gold.[2] Be that as it may, the chief wealth of Sumatra is mineral, and if it has been deprived of a claim to association with remote and classical antiquity, it is known to have been the Happy Isle of the Hindus, named the Isle of Gold[3], from its abundance in this precious product of the earth. Iron ore also exists, but most plentifully in Menangcabao, and the steel wrought in that province excels the most celebrated manufactures of Europe.[4] The tin of the island, though esteemed inferior to that of Banca, which for many years yielded the riches of a miniature Mexico[5], is exported largely to India and China, as well as to the markets of the west. Sulphur, salt-petre, alum, arsenic, and valuable coloured earths, have been discovered, as well as anthracite coal, which is very inflammable, but emits little heat and developes scarcely any gas.[6] The island, however, is still incompletely examined, and science may not yet have reached the limit of its mineral resources.

Mines.

Produce of gold.

Mineral productions.

Though the soil is not so generally rich in Sumatra as in many other islands of the Archipelago, it is pro-

Soil.

[1] Le Poivre, *Voyages d'un Philosophe.*

[2] Josephus, viii. 2. Ceylon was first called Taprobane by Onesicritus. The multitude of its names is curious. Heeren, *Asiatic Nations*, ii. 417.

[3] See Roberts, *Embassy to the Eastern Courts*, 407.

[4] Marsden, *History of Sumatra*, 22.

[5] Horsfield, *Report, Journ. Ind. Arch.* ii. 302.

[6] Temminck, *Coup d'Œil*, ii. 83, 84.

ductive and continually fertilised by the decay of forests, a process[1] observed in many of the islands[2], and similar to that which enriches the banks of the Niger.[3] Rice, the chief sustenance of so many millions among the inhabitants of Asia, is grown in every province.[4] Other grains are produced in less abundance. Camphor of good but peculiar quality[5], cassia, benzoin and aloes; indigo, gambir, cotton, coffee, sugar, tobacco, silk, pepper[6], cinnamon, cocoa and betel nuts, with salt, turpentine, several rare gums, and magnificent ivory, constitute materials of trade, besides the edible birds' nests so richly esteemed by the epicureans of China. In the forests are discovered teak timber, ebony of rare beauty[7]; eagle, iron, and sandal wood, while the jungles afford rattans nearly equal to those of Malacca.[8]

Vegetable productions.

The animal kingdom of Sumatra is large and varied. Elephants, which added to the pomp of its kings and were used for conveyance by the people[9], the tapir, the double-horned rhinoceros, the stag, the Malayan bear, the wild boar, the buffalo, and the tiger, frequent its vast forests, while many creatures useful to man have been domesticated in the populous districts. The morasses abound with reptiles, and the rivers and surrounding seas are inhabited by swarms of fish, many of them of singular species. Birds adorned with the splendid plumage distinguishing the winged creation of the East, live in vast numbers in the woods and jungle.[10]

Animal kingdom: Beasts. Reptiles. Fish. Birds.

[1] Buffon, qu. Rousseau, *Œuvres*, i. 135.
[2] Brooke, *Journal*, "Keppel," i. 19.
[3] Thompson and Allen, *Niger Expedition*, i. 179.
[4] Marsden, *History of Sumatra*, 59.
[5] Linschotten, 81.; Dryander, *Phil. Trans.* lxxviii. 307.
[6] Temminck, *Coup d'Œil*, ii. 65.
[7] *Flor. Coroman.* xlvi.
[8] Catesby, i. 95.
[9] Forrest, *Voyage*, 58.
[10] Latham, iii. 10. 72.

Many are peculiar to Sumatra, others common to that island and to Java; some are of wandering habits, and a few belong to the family which is scattered over all the ancient continent, and is found in Europe, Africa, and in the East, as far as Japan — even visiting the remoter regions of Australasia.[1] Their rich and brilliant tints — orange, green, rose-red, bright steel-blue and gold — contribute touches of beauty to the landscapes of the island, harmonising with the gorgeous vegetation of a Sumatran forest. They feed on insects, reptiles, and the delicious fruits for which the region is celebrated by native and European writers — "Malaya's nectar'd mangustin," the bread fruit, the pulpy acidulous sala, and the rich and pleasant rambutan. In the exaggerated strains of one delighted traveller, Sumatra has been depicted as an enormous orchard perpetually filled with the captivating perfume of fruits and flowers.[2]

Fruit.

Its flora is, indeed, varied and rich, including many plants of exquisite fragrance and beauty, — the yellow tulip, the large asphodel lily, the white nyctanthes, the pale "harlot of the night," the deep crimson rose of India, the jessamine, with an infinite multitude of others, besides many medicinal herbs and shrubs, some of recognised virtue, others solely selected by the empiricism of the East, as ingredients in the devices of its prophylactic fraud.

Flowers.

Plants and herbs.

Sumatra has an extraordinary and diversified population. There are the wild tribes, — a remnant of its original inhabitants — scattered from end to end in secluded communities among the jungly hills. They bear different names, are found in patches as above Siak on the Mandan[3]; dwelling as fishers in the muddy

Population.

Wild tribes.

[1] Temminck, *Coup d'Œil*, ii. 93.

[2] Anon., qu. Marsden, *History*, 86.

[3] Anderson, *Mission to Sumatra*, 349.

creeks along the sea, or as mountain nomades and head-hunters in the South. Their aggregate number is about 6000. Physically they resemble the Malays, and are supposed to be remnants of that stock from which the whole Malayan race descended.[1] The present Malays of Sumatra form, for their numbers, their wealth, their influence and civilisation, the most important division of its inhabitants. They occupy the whole of the wide middle region, or nearly half the island, with its finest hills, its most fertile valleys, its most productive mines, and predominate over all the rest. There are ten other races of different habits, characteristics, and localities hitherto imperfectly known, but extremely interesting to the ethnographer. Altogether the population of Sumatra may be estimated at a little above 2,000,000 souls.[2]

Malays.

Other tribes.

Of the five divisions into which Sumatra has been divided by its judicious and learned historian[3], Menang-cabao is the principal. It is situated near the centre of the island, and under the equinoctial line. From the remotest period it has been famous for its soil — fertile and rich in minerals, particularly iron[4], which contributed much to its prosperity, though counted in a fantastic theory as one of the two main curses of mankind.[5] It forms a plain, shut in by woody ranges, through which several considerable streams serve as outlets to the maritime districts. Eleven hundred years after the commencement of the Christian era, this beautiful province was peopled by an industrious tribe

Menang-cabao.

Account of the province.

Its Malayan population.

[1] J. R. Logan, *Journ. Ind. Arch.* ii. 332. 511.

[2] *Ibid.* iii. 345. 365., a full and admirable account.

[3] Marsden, *History of Sumatra*, 35.

[4] Raffles, *Memoirs*, i. 432.

[5] Rousseau, *De l'Inégalité*, Œuvres, i. 29.—corn was the other.

of Malays settled there from a period long anterior to inquiry. Whence they came, ethnologists have failed to determine. According to one tradition they emigrated from Celebes. The people of that island have ever been among the most adventurous in the East, extending their enterprise even beyond its borders, constructing ships, defending their own shores, and invading others. Through the force of energy and valour they exercised a dominant influence among the islanders, and spread themselves over insular Asia, everywhere taking root. Native accounts assign to them the first conquest and colonisation of the Moluccas. They visited Achin, it is said, and the neighbouring peninsula, and then afterwards the state of Menangcabao. The romantic narrative of this transaction is too curious to be unnoticed, but too slightly supported by evidence to be accepted. A chief of Celebes, proceeding on a great expedition to explore the Western countries, took with him some savages captured in the Spice Islands, with a number of his own countrymen, who were employed to hew wood on the banks of a river in Sumatra for the service of the fleet. Chafing under this bondage the captives escaped, pushed up the stream, and wandered among the valleys of the interior, until they passed between high ridges into the fruitful province of Menangcabao; a name given to the place, according to native accounts, from a great battle once fought there between the elephants and tigers. The derivation is probably fanciful. There, however, the fugitives settled, and founded the prosperous state which afterwards became, in its era, one of the greatest in the Archipelago. From their original occupation, it is believed by some, the colonists were named Malaya or Malays — from *mala*, to bring, and *aya*, wood, — and since that period the Bugis of Celebes have looked down with contempt on

Tradition of their origin.

Founding of Menang-cabao

the whole of the alien race.[1] There is a glimmering of probability in this account, and an assimilation in character, appearance, costume, customs, and ideas between the natives appears to support it. There is, however, another etymology of their name — from *Malaya*, "fugitive;" implying that they were outcasts from Java[2]: and this legend, though apparently in contradiction of the other, really confirms it, so far as it assigns the foundation of Menangcabao to a colony of wanderers flying from their parent country. But there are many circumstances to disturb the idea that it was the primitive cradle of the race. The whole hilly country along the western coast is assigned as their original seat.[3] But let us accept the tradition without reserve: we have carried the research only a stage further, and the birthplace of the Malays is still a fleeting ignis fatuus, leading us amid unconquerable perplexities in quest of the cradle of the human race, whether on Caf or Caucasus, on the elevated plains of Central Asia, or under the waters of the Atlantic Ocean.

Question of the Malay origin.

Another tradition — and there is in the Malay traditions less of the marvellous than in those of most other races[4] — attributes the first peopling of Sumatra to the Malays of the opposite peninsula. Probably this was the way by which the nomades of the continent originally gave a population to the whole Archipelago; but the settlers in Menangcabao, whencesoever derived, found the island already occupied by more than one tribe. In comparison with these aboriginal inhabitants, the Malays are described as a new people[5]; but though

Antiquity of the Malays.

[1] Marsden, *History of Sumatra*, 329.
[2] Raffles, *Memoirs*, i. 422.
[3] J. R. Logan, *Journ. Ind. Arch*, ii. 517.
[4] Raffles, *Memoirs*, i. 258.
[5] Marsden, *History of Sumatra*, 35.

this is insisted on with still more boldness by another historian, who dates them since the Arabian immigration: the foundation of Menangcabao is assigned by him to a very ancient era.[1] Certain it is that of what stock were the original tenants of the soil is a question left unexplained by the most industrious research.[2]

Languages of Asia.

Language affords little aid in the investigation. From Madagascar to the extreme East one tongue universally prevails, though broken into innumerable dialects, as well as modified by the accidents of national character, progress in the arts, religion, and intercourse with foreigners. Whatever they were they dwelt in the woods of Sumatra long before the arrival of the Malays, if these were not aboriginal also. Like few other nations, they appear to have no traditions of an autochthonal derivation among them.

Rise of the Malays in Menangcabao.

The vigour, energy, and skill of the settlers enabled them to consolidate themselves into a powerful community. We may suppose them fortunate in the enjoyment of those advantages which allow Indian states to develope their strength. Domestic peace gave them leisure for foreign conquest, and from being the possessors of one province they became the masters of a country. The shadow of the empire they founded remained during seven hundred years. In the fertile land of their first adoption they erected many towns and villages, continually enlarged to accommodate their increasing numbers, and still to be remembered by the remnants of them yet existing.[3] With the energy of an industrious race they wrought the soil, which yielded abundantly to reward their care. Growing in opulence and power, they invented many arts of comparative refine-

Their industry.

[1] Raffles, *Memoirs*, i. 40. 421. [2] Temminck, *Coup d'Œil*, ii. 6.
[3] Raffles, *Memoirs*, i. 424.

ment, became famous in arms, and opened a flourishing trade with the dwellers on the coast. Over the waters of the finest rivers in the Archipelago[1] were carried down the riches of Menangcabao, to be bartered for the products of the maritime provinces, and probably also for commodities brought by merchants from other islands. All authentic accounts of commerce in that early age, have been lost; and we depend alone on vague native relations, indistinctly picturing the history of the Malayan race in its infancy. From that period, through a long course of time, we can only trace its progress with uncertainty through the perplexities of unwritten tradition, or the still more confusing annals of their own writers. At length, when an indefinite era had elapsed, we find the Malays the paramount power in Sumatra, though only in Menangcabao are they found as an inland people[2], and where they enjoyed considerable prosperity in agriculture and trade.

Their trade.

Their prosperity.

The colony, risen to an empire, possessed all the resources of opulence and power consistent with its half barbarous condition. The enjoyment of a long peace may be supposed to have fostered the prosperity of the state[3]: there were no domestic struggles to harass it within, no formidable enemies to threaten it without. All its energies were concentrated on itself, and riches and population increased together during the protracted endurance of tranquillity. The Malays continued thus to flourish until the population outgrew the land, and the state became unequal to the support of its children. Probably the finest tracts

Growth of a Malay empire.

[1] Crawfurd, *Indian Archipelago*, ii. 372.

[2] Raffles, *Memoirs*, i. 29. J. R. Logan contradicts this; *Journ. Ind. Arch.* ii. 517.

[3] Crawfurd, *Indian Archipelago*, ii. 372.

only were cultivated; for while the neighbouring regions afforded such strong temptations to conquest, a hardy and ambitious people would care little to till a stubborn soil at home.

Emigration to the peninsula. A. D. 1160.

When this was discovered (I still follow the problematic account), a tribe of men, yielding to what seems a natural instinct, elected a leader, embarked in their rude prahus, and steering towards the nearest shore, landed at the south-eastern end of the opposite peninsula. They chose a position the best for trade and the worst for agriculture in that country, which it is at least extraordinary that emigrants from an agricultural province like Menangcabao would have done.[1] There, however, they at once commenced the erection of a city. The spot thus chosen for colonisation by this enterprising race was well adapted to the purpose. Commanding the western entrance of the Archipelago, its situation for commerce is one of the most advantageous in the Eastern seas, and though itself narrow and not fruitful, it lay near extensive fertile tracts abounding in resources. The new capital of Singhapura, therefore, erected in a position attractive to commerce, possessed a territory equal to the support of the colony, even though it should prosper to a rivalry with the parent state. The settlers applied themselves vigorously to labour; fresh swarms of emigrants crossed the straits from Menangcabao; and, although the appellation Leeward People was bestowed on them, the Malays gave the original name of their race to the whole of that hospitable coast. It naturally retained it, as the only country almost entirely occupied by the descendants of this nation.[2] The energy which had

Founding of Singhapura.

Name of the Malayan race.

[1] J. R. Logan, *Journ. Ind. Arch.* ii. 518.

[2] Crawfurd, *Indian Archipelago*, ii. 377.

fostered the prosperity of Menangcabao was displayed in the young colony, and rewarded in its rising fortune.[1]

The Hindus in Java.

During the passage of these events, the Hindu empire — established at an unknown date in Java — probably flourished in the energy of youth. Some native annals ascribe its foundation to a later period[2]; but the opinion of a cautious and learned historian allows to Mojopahit a claim to at least so much of antiquity[3], while the worshippers of Bhrama themselves, first assigning Java as the residence of Vishnu, described it to have been colonised during the succeeding era, by kings from Southern India.[4] Whatever the truth on this unsettled point may have been, there were certainly powerful sovereigns in the island, who saw with jealousy the progress of any opulent state in the vicinity of their dominions. While Singhapura was under the rule of its earliest kings, continual invasions from Java wasted the shores of the peninsula. Mojopahit, whose warrants were then as powerful as the leaden seal of Rome was formerly over the princes of Christendom[5], claimed supremacy over all the neighbouring states, and the emigrants from Menangcabao are said to have been among the first to maintain their independence.[6] They defended resolutely their town and territory; but frequent eruptions destroyed their peace, and at length an irresistible invasion drove them from the province. They retreated westward along the coast, and reached a spot where a river and a convenient shore invited

Traditions.

Invasions of the peninsula.

Flight of the Malays.

[1] De Barros, *Decada*, II. ii. 4.
[2] Crawfurd, *Indian Archipelago*, ii. 301.
[3] Marsden, *History of Sumatra*.
[4] Raffles, *History of Java*, ii. 78.
[5] J. R. Logan, *Journ. Ind. Arch.* i. 17.
[6] Raffles, *Memoirs*, i. 79.

them to settle. Growing in abundance on the hill which forms the chief natural strength of the situation, was the fruit-bearing tree *Phyllanthus emollica*, called *Malaka*, which gave its name [1] to the new city; said to be the *Yamala* of the Hindu [2] records. The change in locality was by no means disadvantageous. The harbours is described by old writers [3] as the finest in those seas, and the surrounding country as the fairest and most pleasant to the eye [4]; but it is believed that the situation of the present is not that of the ancient town, and that convulsions of the earth have entirely changed the aspect of the coast [5], leaving a wild and rugged sea-border, where the beauty of the landscape was once only equalled by the bounty of the soil.[6]

Founding of Malacca.

From this point of time the history of the Malayan race becomes more certain. In the earlier periods all is lost in the clouds of fable. Gradually the vast nation is broken into tribes, and these into families, sprung from celestial progenitors, while the ocean is indicated as the mother of the people, suggesting that at one period they arrived by sea at the coast which they afterwards inhabited. Menangcabao, however, rests its claim to be considered the original seat of the actual Malays, on many circumstances. For ages the Malays are said to have borne the name of Monacaboa; probably

Traditions of the islands.

Uncertainty of the question.

[1] Newbold, *Straits Settlements*, i. 108. Malacca was the ancient name of Malaga, in Spain, and was so called from the excellent salt fish in which it traded largely. Strabo, 236.: cf. Bochart, 683.

[2] Wilford, *Asiatic Researches*, viii. 302.

[3] Nieuhoff, *Travels* (Churchill), ii. 169.

[4] Gemelli Careri, *Voyage*, iv. 258. The apocryphal narrative of Father Francis is probably as correct as though he had actually journeyed so far as he pretended. He does not appear to have invented but compiled.

[5] J. R. Logan, *Journ. Ind. Arch.* ii. 125.

[6] Hon. E. Blundell, *Journ. Ind. Arch.* ii. 731.

a derivation of Menangcabao; and at a later period assumed that of the Orang Malayan, or Wandering People.[1] Another fact is remarkable. In all other parts of the Archipelago the Malays have invaded the shores and settled near the sea; but in Sumatra alone do we discover them inhabiting an interior province, encompassed by the highest mountains in the island.[2]

Curiosity is reluctant to leave the search after the birthplace of a race exercising an influence, like that of the Malays, over the civilisation of the further East. But an historian is warned from following too far the traditions hereditary among the islanders, by the example of others who have lost themselves in endless deserts of speculation. Fables exhibiting no vestige of historical authority involve the early annals of the Archipelago in that gloom which is propitious to theory as well as to romance. A Javan colony in Sumatra, founded at the time when the Malays are said to have emigrated from Menangcabao, is ascribed to the "descendants of Noah" who came in the ark with forty companions to Palembang, directed by the flight of a bird. Such false and wandering lights disperse none of the gloom enveloping the early period, but after the founding of Malacca the train of events is drawn through a more luminous space in history, though the close details would little interest an English reader. From Menangcabao, from Singhapura, from Malacca, and from Johore, the islands of Lingan, Tristan, and Borneo were colonised, though Brunè appears to have been settled as a Malay state before the foundation of the second Malay city on the peninsula.[3] From these

Value of ethnographical researches.

Tradition of the Ark.

Growth of the Malayan race.

[1] Muller, *Bijdragen*, 77., qu. Temminck, ii. 9.

[2] Temminck, *Coup d'Œil*, ii. 51. Marsden, 36.

[3] *Chin. Rep.* vii. 186. Valentyn, i. 352. *Moniteur*, i. 164. Temminck, ii. 176. Logan, *Journ. Ind. Arch.* ii. 515.

places also were colonised all the western kingdoms, with the provinces of Aru and Kampar in Sumatra.[1] Gradually the Malays, restless and enterprising, spread themselves more widely, and occupied the borders of Java, Celebes, the Moluccas, and the islands of the Sulu Sea.[2]

Dispersion of the Malays.

Thus issuing from their populous abodes in Sumatra, considered — though only by some — the birthplace of their name and nation, they have scattered themselves, like the Pelasgian hordes of antiquity, over the whole Archipelago, and carrying their energies to all quarters of the further East, have subdued the more effeminate and less civilised races. They planted small commercial states on almost every coast, and assumed the attitude of conquerors wherever a fertile soil, an abundance of precious minerals, or a commodious harbour, invited them to settle. Originally Pagans, they generally embraced the faith of Islam soon after it appeared in the Archipelago. This great event took place towards the close of the thirteenth century[3], and inflated with the pride of intolerance, as well as ambitious of conquest, the Malays, arrogating the haughty license of usurpation, became the ruling or military caste. They despised the savages who still clung to gods whom they themselves had abandoned, and who continued to find in seas, in woods, in rocks and trees, in the luminaries of the sky and the elements of the earth, awful divinities claiming the adoration of man. Standing themselves in the twilight of truth, they looked with scorn on the Pagans remaining in the Triphonian darkness of that heathenism which had previously enveloped their own minds.

Their settlements.

Religion of the Malays — Mohammedanism.

A. D. 1276.

The heathen tribes.

Pagan beliefs.

[1] Crawfurd, *Indian Archipelago*, ii. 376.
[2] Raffles, *History of Java*, i. 82.
[3] Crawfurd, *Indian Archipelago*, ii. 375.

Power of the Malays.

They occupied themselves, meanwhile, with the nobler branches of commerce, filling all posts of honour, and crowding every avenue to wealth and fame. Under the lash of their tyranny, cruel but not yet corrupt, the aborigines betook themselves to the humbler tillage of the soil, or a savage independence in the woods, where they remained shut out from the influences of a nascent civilisation[1], and where to this hour they cherish the dim and shapeless superstitions of their ancestors.[2] The black, woolly-haired race bent helplessly to the yoke of the Malays, who became imperial in the Archipelago.[3]

The savage tribes.

Subjugation of the black race.

Native annals of the Archipelago.

To follow the course of events from the foundation of Malacca until the appearance of a European sail in these waters, would lead through an intricate labyrinth of uninteresting details. Conquests, dethronements, restorations, petty wars, piratical expeditions, and ceaseless oppression of the people, such are the universal features of purely Asiatic history; a confused and barren series of transactions, less meriting a particular narrative than, to borrow a phrase from Milton, the skirmishes of kites and crows. They teach few lessons, because they belong to a system altogether distinct from our civilisation. All that we learn from them is the nature of barbarism; princes becoming rich by their subjects becoming poor; a great race of slaves originating in the tyranny of the one, and perpetuated by the apathy of the other; oppression exercised as the right of the strong; obedience yielded as the duty of the weak; kings and nobles corrupting their hands by the plunder of the people; no policy of state, no laws to consolidate and preserve society, but a short course of fortune succeeded by a sure, though a gradual and a long,

Teachings of this history.

[1] J. R. Logan, *Journ. Ind. Arch.* i. 12.

[2] Brooke, *Journals* (Mundy).

[3] Crawfurd, *Indian Archipelago*, ii. 377.

Early social aspect of the islands.

decline. It might be lost labour to shape and colour this moral epic of Asia, yet a picture of the native states under their social aspects, could it be correctly drawn, would possess a singular value. The inhabitants of these islands, in the earlier ages, were not dull, torpid savages, existing in listless indifference to the gifts with which nature has enriched their lands. Their adventures in trade and war were daring and extended. Already from China, Arabia, and Siam, streams of emigration had begun to flow, as well as from the countries of Western India, and all over the seas of the Archipelago roved fleets of fantastic barques, with cargoes and warlike equipments.

Trade in remote times. Immigration.

Navigation.

The Indian islanders have been from the remotest times among the most persevering of uncivilised navigators, although they seldom ventured to push their voyages beyond the limits of their own ocean. The Archipelago formed a world to them. Generally the native mariners, in light and fragile vessels, timidly crept along familiar waters, with the land always in sight, guided by the position of headlands and rocks. Their prahus, too slender to encounter a storm, could be run into creeks for shelter, or hauled on shore like the galleys of ancient Greece. The traders of Celebes, however, often lost sight of their coasts, and pushed out on the open seas, directing their course by the position of the heavenly bodies, and, sometimes, by the aid of a compass. At what time they learned the virtues of this, the mariner's unerring and mysterious guide, is conjectural. It was known by a native name, but was probably introduced from China, the region which seems to have held the earliest intercourse with the Indian Archipelago, and in art and invention, if not in manners, was far in advance of Europe.[1] The

The native navigators.

The compass.

Intercourse with China.

[1] *Horæ Sinicæ*, 3.

overflow of that enormous empire — pretending, through some of its writers, to an antiquity of 3000 years [1] — has, from a remote period, poured into the neighbouring countries of Insular Asia. If, indeed, we may credit the Chinese historians, the date of their first adventures in the Archipelago at the dawn of the fifth century of our Christian era. It is related by one of their great travellers [2], that in the year 399 he visited India, Junk Ceylon, and the Archipelago, making a sojourn of five months in Java, where he found a race of Brahmins and Buddhists, and returned to China in 415. There is no reason, on account of the date, to refuse belief to this relation. The intercourse of China with Hindostan itself is certainly of very ancient origin, its very name being Indian [3], and the trade between them alluded to in the histories of their remotest eras.[4] The extent of Chinese colonisation and travel, indeed, was extraordinary when European adventure began to push into the new world.[5] They voyaged in ships called "junks" long before the time of Cosmas.[6]

Settlers from China.

Earliest voyage from China.

Chinese colonisation and travel.

When Marco Polo visited the Archipelago at the end of the thirteenth century, his mind, susceptible of exaggerated impressions, was filled with wonder by its beauty and apparent wealth.[7] Its kings appeared to him monarchs of unequalled splendour; its cities the centres of luxury, peopled by myriads of men, and

Marco Polo's arrival in the Archipelago.

His fanciful pictures.

[1] The more sensible Chinese authors disclaim this idea. Martini, *Hist. de la Chine*, i. 7. *Lettres Edif.* xxi. 119. De Guignes, *Hist. des Huns*, i. 1—3. Eight hundred years is the utmost claimed by *Tse Ma Tsiene*, *Acad. des Inscriptions*, x. 381—388. xv. 506. D.

[2] Shi Fa, quot. by Temminck, *Coup d'Œil.*

[3] Vincent, *Periplus*, ii. 574, 575.

[4] See the *Ramayana*, i. 627. [5] Morrison, *Miscellany*, 1. 57.

[6] Heeren, *Asiatic Nations*, ii. 425.

[7] Marsden's *Marco Polo.* Bergeron, 130.

surrounded by all that splendour which dreams of old romance attributed to the potentates of the East. At that period, however, Java and Ternate were disputing the supremacy of the Archipelago. The former, in size and population, immeasurably surpassed its rival; but Ternate attracted emigrants from the greater island, from Celebes, and from the Malay peninsula. Its produce of cloves was already prized among the native races as well as the Arabian traders. It became more populous, and while Java was torn by the struggles of two religious creeds, enjoyed a prosperity surpassed by that of no other state in the Archipelago. Meanwhile, the faiths of Buddha and Brahma contended victoriously with the ancient idolatry of the East, where they have flourished, except in countries where Islam has been introduced — as in those, especially, of the Malay nation.[1] The followers of Mohammed multiplied with astonishing rapidity. Where the first settlers had established themselves is unknown. Few of the native kingdoms possess the consecutive annals of 150 years, and not many of half that period[2], yet twenty chiefs or more contend for preeminence in point of antiquity. Whatever region they first visited they prospered in the Archipelago, and gradually erected in Java a power which became formidable to the empire of Mojopahit. There were numerous converts in Sumatra also at the end of the thirteenth century.[3] Java, however, which is separated from that island by a narrow strait, only emerges into the light of history towards the close of the twelfth century. Traditions exist which refer to periods far more remote, but they cannot be accepted among au-

Native kingdoms.

The Moluccas.

Native states; distribution of power.

Decline of the Hindu creed.

Rise of Mohammedanism.

Its introduction.

[1] Heeren, *Asiatic Nations*, ii. 134.
[2] Crawfurd, *Indian Archipelago.*
[3] Marco Polo. Marsden, *Travels*, 601.

thentic annals, though through the shadows of romance we may discern a few suggestions of probable truth. Long ago, say native accounts, the natives on the borders of the Red Sea, supposed to have been the exiles of Egypt, detached from their numbers various tribes of men, who embarked in ships and steered into the Indian Ocean. They left their own rainless and sandy plains for a new home under an Indian sky, and sailing far along the shores of the Asiatic continent, which then comprehended the whole Archipelago, they colonised "the land of Java." They brought with them the beliefs and the manners of their race. Some adored the sun, and some the moon; others paid veneration to trees or stones, or fire or water. Congregating in vast hordes, without fixed habitations, they moved from plain to plain, subsisting on the fruits of the earth, and guided by the notes of the bird Ulungaga, who was invariably offered the remains of the feast and the sacrifice. They sought omens of good before leaving their encampments, and when the presages were favourable, the whole tribe was set in motion to search for a new place of rest.[1] In course of time the great pangs of nature rent the continent into scattered groups of islands, and volcanic fires burst from beneath the sea, throwing up mountains on the plains, and opening gulfs to swallow broad tracts of land. After this, the nations of India arrived, but whether a thousand years before the birth of Christ, or seventy-five years after, is disputed by the native historians, or rather the bards of Eastern myth. For our present purpose the discussion possesses little importance, since it is certain that a long line of Hindu princes reigned in Java. The whole tradition, however, is curious, and seems to throw at least a few sparkles

Strange tradition.

The heathen nations.

Their beliefs and rites.

Shattering of the continent into islands.

Arrival of a nation from India.

[1] Raffles, *History of Java*, ii. 70.

of light into the void of the unrecorded ages. There is in it, indeed, a palpable confusion of events and eras; —the mingling of the Mohammedan emigration, which took place direct from Arabia [1], with that more remote event, which peopled the Archipelago from the heart of Asia.[2] May there not be a reference to the efflux of the Tartar race from its own deserts, upon the shores of the continent, and at length on the seas of the Archipelago? I do not wish to value the idea for more than it is worth; but the superstitions and the manners of the people described resemble strictly those of the Black Tartars.[3] The opinions connected with journeys, with hunting[4], and songs, with wild rites and fancies, point to an interesting subject of investigation, which would not be entirely lost in comparison between some of the Indian islanders with the Kirghiz Kazaks of Central Asia[5], especially in their religious consultation of the stars and other luminaries of heaven. This is not formularised into a theory, but suggested as an object of research, as it has already indeed been treated in a remarkable manner, with reference to the wild tribes of the peninsula.[6] The immigration from India, it is said, followed, and the Hindus ruled in Java. They have left the ruins of a thousand temples as the memento of their splendour and power. These relics attest that, at whatever time peopled, at whatever time abandoned, by the votaries of the Hindu faith, the island was once subject to their sway.

Probable explanation of these tales.

Origin of the Malays.

Affinity with the Tartar race.

Relics of the Hindu empire.

The evidence of their greatness is engraved on the

[1] Crawfurd, *Indian Archipelago*, ii. 259.
[2] J. R. Logan, *Journ. Ind. Arch.* i. 10.
[3] Claude Visdelou, *Hist. de la Tartarie*, 293.
[4] Erman, *Travels*, ii. 458.
[5] Levchine, *Kirghiz Kazaks*, 335.
[6] Newbold, *Straits Settlements*, ii. 396.

wrecks of many magnificent structures [1], whose noblest use is to preserve the memory of things which have themselves disappeared. When history fails to light us through the past, the ruined tombs, temples, and palaces of former empires remain—edifices dedicated to divinities or kings, while their builders and their tenants, and the worshippers who thronged them, have passed away. The commotions of the earth, the convulsions of civil war, and the tides of invasion have, indeed, in Java, swept many of them down; but still some solid and beautiful structures are erect, and in these crumbling memorials, with pillars and colossal sculptures inscribed with the characters of ancient languages, we discover traces of the civilisation of a people whose history is only dimly shadowed forth through the chiaroscuro of fragmentary tradition. Such narratives, though they may assist in revealing what the grass-covered monuments of time only partially disclose, never possess the authority incontestable in the temple and the pyramid.

Ruins in Java.

Monuments.

The Hindu empire, founded in Java, existed in considerable splendour during several ages, and imposed its authority even on Bruné [2], in the immense island of Borneo, where it has been affirmed traces of Hindu architecture still exist to attest the extension of that religion there.[3] The Mohammedans frequented Java for a long period before their faith was established, but, as early as 1391, an attempt was made by two enthusiasts to propagate their creed in the more civilised and populous provinces.[4] Little success was then obtained:

Merchants of Islam.

[1] Crawfurd, *Indian Archipelago*, ii. 196. 298.
[2] J. R. Logan, *Journ. Ind. Arch.* ii. 521.
[3] Dalton, *Asiatic Researches*, n. s. vii. 153.
[4] Crawfurd, *Indian Archipelago*, ii. 313.

gradually, however, the Muslims, bound to the islanders by cordial ties of intercourse, multiplied converts among them. With their merchandise they brought their religious ideas, and associating continually with the natives, won them from the worship of their ancient gods. At length their numbers inspired them with the spirit of ambition. They raised the Prophet's flag in the island, and disputed its supremacy. The conflict, vigorous and protracted as it was, ended in the triumph of Islam. Mojopahit, the most superb city in the Indian islands, and capital of Java, and the sacred city of the Hindu religion, fell before their armies in the 1400th year of Salivana.[1] The whole empire then collapsed, and left a number of independent states, ruled by chiefs, who soon established principalities, styling themselves Sultan and Susunan, or "The Worthy of Worship." From that day the Indian creed declined, until Bali alone, a small island to the east of Java, held the last remnant of the followers of the Hindu faith, with the exception of a few of the Tenghar tribes, among whom still lingers a vague belief in the ascendant religion of India.

Their influence.

Fall of the Hindu empire.

A. D. 1478.

Remnant of the Hindoos.

Progress of the Arabs.

The Arabs, vigorous everywhere, were more than usually energetic in the fertile Indian islands, and occupying themselves at once with trade and proselyte-making, converted the people, while they exchanged with them the commodities of different countries. As the apostles of a superior religion, they established themselves in the respect of the native races; but in the Archipelago, as on the continent, their rites and tenets[2] were only enforced in a modified form[3], as by Akbar, whose religious liberality gained for him honor

Their moderation.

[1] Raffles, *History of Java*, ii. 137.

[2] Anderson, *Mission to Sumatra*, 175.

[3] *Bombay Transactions*, ii. 266.

among liberal men, though it compelled him to answer the cavillings of many fanatics who in their frenzied zeal would have buried all the East in flames and slaughter.[1] The same devices were adopted by Xavier when propagating the gospel in the various countries of Asia—from Persia to Japan.[2] By this politic concession to inveterate prejudice, the early Mohammedans acquired, and still hold, a high place in the estimation of the Malayan race, and many wealthy men of that nation undertook the pilgrimage to Mecca. With them, as with the original followers of the son of Hashem, a journey to The Shrine comprehended a visit to the chief parts of the world, vanity as well as ignorance combining to preserve this belief. The influence of the Arabs in the Archipelago has in some degree been beneficent to the native states. Their restless energy, indeed, inclined them often to piracy, and thus aggravated the evils of a system which early prevailed in those seas; but, on the other hand, they have served the people by protecting their independence. Their conduct may have been, and probably was, based on notions of simple calculation, but its useful results are undeniable.

Their policy.

The substitution of Mohammedanism for the Hindu creeds opened a wide approach for civilisation, though, perhaps, it closed many minds against the influence of Christianity. It is far easier to make converts among races wholly immersed in heathen darkness, than among men who have received the tenets of a more attractive faith.[3] The proselyte is too frequently a bigot. Having relinquished one religion, he stands fixed in his new belief, and cannot easily be persuaded to acknowledge

Result of the Mohammedan conversion.

Difficulty of a second proselytism.

[1] *Memoirs of Jehanghire*, 15.
[2] Fraser, *Hist. Nadir Shah*, 12, 13.
[3] See on this point Cunningham, *Hist. of Sikhs*, 14.

that he has exchanged one form of error for another.[1] The diffusion of Mohammedanism in the Archipelago, and the conversion of the native races, continued with rapidity; and, before an European navigator entered those seas, the religion of the Prophet was established in some of the principal islands.

The great historical events which occurred in the Archipelago before an European flag appeared on its waters were, — the growth and dispersion of the Malayan race, the rise and decline of the Hindu empire, and the introduction of the Muslim faith. The narrative of all these transactions has been carried through traditions and doubtful accounts. From this point the history will assume another colour, but a notice of those events was too necessary to the completeness of the subject to be confined within closer limits.

[1] He is satisfied with his faith, as the Brahmin in India is. See Moorcroft, *Travels*, i. 118.

CHAPTER. III.

Venice at the commencement of the sixteenth century.

THE dawn of the sixteenth century found Venice holding the first rank among commercial powers. The wealth of India — the gold, the gems, the precious stuffs and silks, the gums, the spices, and other costly products of the East, enriched her beyond all the other states of Europe. She rose to opulence and splendour on the same basis that lifted Phœnicia and Egypt to prosperity, and enabled Carthage to aspire to a rivalry with the magnificence of Rome. The jealousy of Christendom was excited by her possession of a prize, envied by all trading nations. But hers was not an artificial monopoly. Skill, enterprize, knowledge, as well as the accident of superior position, gave to Venice that eminence in riches and power, which excited the emulation of Europe. To deprive her of this privilege, and share the commerce of the opulent East, the Spanish and Portuguese nations undertook many adventures of discovery. India was the magnetic land which allured Columbus to the Bahama Isles, and tempted Vasco di Gama to encounter the dangers of a passage round the Cape of Storms.

Her splendid commerce.

Jealousy of Europe.

Early enterprises.

State of Europe.

Europe was then plunged in the deep abyss of Popish superstition, but events were ripening which aided in that memorable revolution in the religious affairs of Christendom, which more than any other conduced to the liberty of mankind. A new light, after the long eclipse of learning, was diffused from Italy by the recovery of those splendid and precious jewels of classic literature, which the poets, historians, and critics of the South drew forth from the dust where they had decayed,

in secret since the dissolution of the Roman empire. The discovery of printing, the revival of letters, and a spirit of inquiry, awakened by those events, promised to dispel the intellectual darkness hanging over what was, by comparison, called the civilised world. Enterprising men occasionally escaped from the ignorance which bound down the masses, and undertook voyages through unexplored wastes of sea in search of the riches of India. In 1492 the great Genoese navigator discovered the Western world, and acquired for Spain the commerce of a whole continent. In 1498 Vasco di Gama rounded the Cape of Good Hope, and Portugal at once entered with Venice into the rivalry of Eastern trade. Vessels from the Tagus for the first time sailed among the Indian islands. Alonzo Talesso, a Portuguese navigator, discovered Sumatra in 1506.

Revival of maritime enterprise.

A. D. 1492.

Progress of discovery.

A. D. 1498.

Discovery of Sumatra.

A. D. 1506.

These adventures were regarded in Europe as the achievements of wonderful energy, aided by the especial favour of heaven. The distant seas of the New World were then, to the ordinary mariner, dangerous regions full of mystery. The unknown is at all times invested with terror. The earth, by the ancients, had been divided into three parts: modern discovery had added a fourth nearly equal in extent to the whole of them, though still the immense tracts of Australasia lay hidden in the unexplored south. In the quarters generally known, indeed, immense spaces remained shrouded in their original gloom. Even Ptolemy, the most illustrious geographer of his age, was frequently deceived, and fancy painted in fable what was left unexamined by discovery; for the mind refuses to acknowledge a vacancy, and fills all unoccupied spaces with creations of its own. The ancients knew much, but were ignorant of more. Seas, deserts, and mountains shut them out from large portions of the earth's surface. No astrolabe or com-

Ideas circulated in Europe.

Ancient divisions of the world.

Fanciful geography.

pass allowed even the most adventurous to lose sight of land, and whenever any dismal or perilous shore, or billowy strait, was caught sight of by the timid mariner, he hastily shifted his course, and returned to the ordinary tracks of navigation.[1] Some feared to fall within the influence of strange, unvarying winds, which might carry them over endless seas; others dreaded currents too powerful to stem; and others imagined a region of perpetual calm, where the ill-fated vessel would be fixed for ever. Among the nations the conscience of the timid sailor sought refuge in the sanctuary of religion. The waves were too mountainous to cross; therefore it was impious to struggle with them, and attempt the passage of a barrier evidently raised by the immortals against the profane curiosity of man.

Terrors of navigation.

To overcome obstacles raised and strengthened by the superstition of ages, was a great achievement; and Portugal, in the zenith of her splendour, acquired not half so much glory by her conquests as by her discoveries, and the commerce which followed them. In the year 1508, the king Emmanuel dispatched a squadron of four ships, under the command of Diego Lopez di Sequeira, to prosecute the discoveries opened by the earliest navigators round the Cape. Portugal had long been foremost in the career of discovery; but protracted wars had exhausted her resources, when the triumphs of Diaz, Di Gama, and Albuquerque, allowed her again to assert her pre-eminent position. The reign of Emmanuel received its lustre from the hardihood of merchants and naval captains—rough, skilful men, inured to every kind of danger. So much success stimulated his ambition. Brilliant dreams of an empire in the East haunted his imagination; and while, in the

Portuguese discoveries.

A. D. 1508.

Voyage of Sequeira.

Ambition of the king.

[1] See Mariana, *Hist. Esp.* ii. 22.

perfumed luxury of a palace, he counted the visionary gains of his adventure, he dismissed his willing subjects to face the difficulties, while he reaped the advantages of discovery and conquest. He constantly inquired of the traders and travellers from the East, and learned the nature of its most valuable products. He studied every chart and map of that region, and observed three places to which the Indian merchants chiefly resorted—Aden, the key of the Red Sea; Ormuz, in the Persian Gulf; and Malacca, on the Malay peninsula. Their commodious situation attracted the merchants of China and all the East.[1] The king resolved to plant a dominant influence in those quarters, whether by force or intrigue, with the native princes. Had Columbus lived during his reign, and placed before his eyes his magnificent views of discovery, the great navigator would probably not have had to wander from court to court, offering to ignorant and insolent princes the possession of a continent. Emmanuel engaged in the ambitious enterprise, and battles were fought by land and sea, between the Christian, heathen, and Mohammedan powers, disputing the supremacy of the Eastern ocean. In the midst of this confusion of wars, the details of which are foreign to the design of this narrative, Diego Lopez de Sequeira entered on his expedition, and commenced a voyage to Malacca.

Inquiries concerning the East.

Sailing to the mouth of the Ganges, he there turned towards the open sea, left the Bay of Bengal, and steered through a richly-bordered strait into the interior waters. Entering the confines of the wild and magnificent Archipelago, the voyagers were struck by the beautiful appearance of the islands which crowded on their sight. Strange groups of men collected on

Sequeira's voyage.

Discovers the Archipelago.

[1] Bedford, *Tin Countries, MS. unpublished.*

the shores in wondering admiration of their unknown visitors. Some wore clothes of woven bark; others the long loose robe which prevails in the Archipelago to the present day; but all presented in their attire and general appearance a spectacle different from any which the Europeans had seen before.

Aspect of the islands.

Sequeira was the first Portuguese to land in Sumatra, and survey the varying prospects of this the golden Chersonese of his national historian.[1] He landed first at Pedir[2], a port on the north-western coast, where he found trading vessels from Pegu, Bengal, and other countries.[3] Opening friendly relations with the sovereign of the state, he proceeded to Achin, a kingdom at the western extremity of the island. He left at each place a pillar, set up ostensibly as a memorial of his visit, but in reality as a token of discovery, and a sign of the right it conferred.[4] Thence he steered across the dangerous Straits of Malacca, among a maze of shoals and islands—some naked spots, mere patches of tawny dust, surrounded by the blue flow of the sea; others, islets of a fresh and lively green, encircled by margins of sand.[5] Sequeira safely navigated these channels, perplexed no doubt by the confluence of the Indian and Chinese oceans, which causes a remarkable rise of the flood on the neighbouring shores.[6]

Lands in Sumatra.

Native commerce.

The Straits of Malacca.

Accounts of the conduct of the Portuguese, in different parts of the world, had been received at Malacca long before the arrival of this expedition. Mohammed, an Arabian usurper, now occupied the throne, and he appears to have seen the shadow of his own downfall in the visit of an European. The colony of Malay emi-

Reports of Portuguese atrocities.

Sequeira reaches Malacca.

[1] Maffei, *Istorie dell' Inde Orientali*, i. 1.
[2] Osorio, i. 368.
[3] Marsden, 325.
[4] Marsden, *Sumatra*, 326.
[5] Sir Edward Belcher.
[6] Mundy, i. 13.

grants,—if such was the true history of its foundation —had risen to distinction among the states of the further East. Malacca, situated on the great highway of Indian commerce, had become a city of considerable size, with a population estimated by native writers at 190,000 souls. Its condition was flourishing, and it formed the political capital of almost the entire peninsula, as well as the islands scattered along its coast.[1]

State of the Malay empire.

Audience with the king.

Hieromas Taxeria, chosen by king Emmanuel as his ambassador to the sovereign of Malacca, immediately landed with a small retinue. The chiefs of the country came out to meet him, leading an elephant superbly trapped to bear him to the hall of audience. Mounted on the colossal beast, the envoy entered with pomp and glitter into the city, was conducted to the palace, and presented his master's letter, with the rich presents which accompanied it. Emmanuel claimed friendship and the free trade of the state. The king of Malacca, flattered by an embassy from a potent sovereign of Europe, received his visitor with lofty courtesy, and mutual oaths of amity were sworn. But this happy dawn of intercourse was soon darkened through the jealousy of the Arabian traders, whose hatred of the Portuguese, as Christians, was only equalled by their envy of the flourishing trade carried on by that nation. They fancied themselves lords of the oriental seas, and holding a common faith with the king of Malacca, easily seduced him from his covenant.

Prospect of pleasant intercourse.

Jealousy of the Arabs.

Libels on the Portuguese.

They infected the ideas of the people, and, through the governor of the city, poured malicious slanders into the ear of the prince. A thousand crimes were attributed to the Portuguese. They came from the furthest West, where they were renowned as a race of cruel

[1] Newbold, *British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca*, i. 122.

pirates, tyrannical beyond imagination, and born to ruin the kings of the East; they everywhere sought, by the mischievous means of alliances, to obtain permission to erect fortresses and ravish the independence of the people, as they had done at Cochin, at Cananor, at Ormuz, and Sofala.[1] Such and similar to these were the insinuations that circulated through Malacca, and the advice of the merchants to Mohammed was by any device to defeat the designs of these treacherous allies.

Treachery of the king.

The king imagined a scheme to overreach his visitors. A plot was concerted to seize the Christians and capture their ships. The religion of the Muslim allowed him to break an oath favourable to the natural enemies of his faith, and the intrigue against the Portuguese was speedily worked into a definite form. Sequeira and his chief officers were invited to a banquet. A party of them was conducted to a building near the shore, and ushered into a spacious and lofty hall, with a gallery curiously constructed and hung with rich tapestry. The commander had not yet quitted his ship, but hesitated to send a refusal which might be laid to the account of fear. Some friendly tongue informed him of the meditated treachery — the slaughter of his whole company as they enjoyed the repast, by a band of armed men. Yet he would not discover his knowledge, and feigned illness, excusing himself on that score.

Plot against the Portuguese.

The plot fails.

Second conspiracy.

Mohammed then conceived a second and a more artful scheme. It was the law of Malacca that the trader first entering the port should be first supplied with a cargo for his ship, and all others in just succession. The Portuguese, as the last arrivals, would have been long detained for their lading, but Mohammed, affecting great respect for his guest, promised to lay aside the strict

[1] Maffei, *Istorie dell' Inde*, i. 266.

regulations of his kingdom and load their ships with spices before the due time. The plan was to be carried out with extreme diligence and care, lest other merchants should envy the privileged strangers from the West. He proposed that the Portuguese should enter different harbours with their vessels, where sufficient supplies should privately be collected for them. Sequeira affected great delight, rapturously thanked the prince for his kindness, and resolved to be watchful, while concealing the suspicions which had been roused in his breast.

Plan for the massacre of the Portuguese.

Mohammed prepared a multitude of soldiers and prahus to lie in wait and attack the Portuguese when the proper moment had arrived. A Javan chief, who professed warm friendship for the Europeans, engaged to visit Sequeira, and going on board his vessel, under pretext of seeking a friendly interview, to stab him during the conversation. His guard should remain on deck and attack the crew on a given signal. Numerous soldiers were to board the vessel, and arrangements were made to cut off all the Portuguese in the town and harbour. Some merchants were engaged to visit the different officers, and hold them in parley, while the men-at-arms collected and the plot approached its catastrophe. The plan was laid with deep deliberation. Had it been followed with equal exactness the conspiracy would perhaps have succeeded to the extent of its purpose. None was to commence action, not a blow was to be struck, not a sword drawn until a column of smoke was observed to curl up from the peak of a certain hill. On that signal, the troops would pour down upon the beach to attack the half-deserted ships; armed prahus would be set afloat in all directions, and each man, on land and sea, was to work to the utmost of his ability towards the extermination of the Christians.

The plot closed round the Portuguese. Sequeira was animated by a keen desire to trophy before the court of king Emmanuel some of the rich spoils of the East, won whether in trade or war. Possibly he forgot his caution in the enthusiasm of his avarice. He dispatched part of his company to the indicated ports, and on board his own vessel awaited their return to Malacca, whiling away the interval by a game of chess. The Javan chief came on board to salute his friend. Sequeira rose to receive him, but the barbarian pressed him back to his play, and feigned great curiosity to know the difference between the Portuguese and the Indian fashion of chess. The commander resumed his seat, while the chief, awaiting the signal, engaged his attention by numerous questions. Patiac, the Javan conspirator, possessed the brazen countenance necessary to mask a plot of this nefarious character; but his mind was fiercely agitated by the delight of an anticipated triumph over the enemies of his race and his religion. He could ill conceal his eagerness. He rose and reseated himself again and again; he put his hand to the hilt of his sword, and more than once unsheathed the blade. Yet, though impatient of the moment, he was too deeply bent on the accomplishment of his project to suffer an ill-timed enthusiasm to endanger its success. His followers were not equally prudent. The disguised merchants, with the troops in ambush, broke cover and fell upon the Portuguese before the signal fire was kindled. Several men were killed before the alarm spread as far as the admiral's cabin.

Conduct of the plot.

Its premature discovery.

Sequeira received a sudden warning of his danger. The news was brought to him that his followers had been cut to pieces in the city, and that treason was at work in the ships. He caught up his sword, called on his attendants to follow him, and ran to the deck.

The Portuguese escape.

There a small rank was formed, and they charged to and fro, driving their enemies over the bulwarks, and resisting the entrance of crowds who now endeavoured to invade the ship. The massacre was arrested, the Malays were beaten out of the vessel, and succour was dispatched to those on shore.

At that moment a column of smoke ascended from the hill, and on all sides flotillas of armed prahus, thronged with men, pressed closely round the vessels. They were low, cumbrously built craft, and became so wedged, that their movements were awkward and slow. From the position of his ships, Sequeira could not readily make use of his great guns. He ordered the cables to be cut, sailed through the crowded masses, gained the entrance of the port, and then opened such a fire upon the Malay prahus, that at full speed, in the utmost confusion, they sought shelter from the storm. When they were dispersed, Sequeira boldly re-entered the harbour to rescue his men, neglecting not to inform Mohammed and his chiefs that speedy punishment should follow their dishonourable act. Then collecting as many of his company as he was able to find, he set sail with a favourable wind, and, capturing by the way some laden prahus, entered on his homeward voyage.[1]

Return to Europe.

Alarm of the Malays in Malacca.

The Mohammedan ruler of Malacca, by a faithless conduct towards the first Portuguese who visited his territory, had now justified an attack upon his shores. He had opened the gates of the Archipelago to European conquest, which speedily flowed through, and from that day continued unceasingly to spread over the regions of the further East. The native annals represent the transaction in a different light; but their obvious incorrectness throws no doubt on the accounts of

[1] Maffei, *Istoria dell' Inde Orientali*, i. 272.

our own historians. The Portuguese, they say, came from the Philippines,—which were not discovered till a later date,— and, by the old device of a bullock's skin divided into thongs, procured ground for the site of a port, conveyed cannon on shore, concealed in barrels, overreached the king, and conquered his territory.[1] This version of the tale is evidently fabulous; but there is perhaps, in reference to some other event, a basis for the tradition. Where the European narratives leave a void, European writers fill it up from the native histories; but if we use these at all, it is unjust to select from them only what is flattering to our national vanity. There are passages in them, translated with great care by learned writers[2] in our own language, whose accuracy stands the test of comparison with every other relation.

Native accounts of the transaction.

When the Portuguese had escaped, Mohammed of Malacca foresaw that their return to Lisbon would be the signal to summon an armament to punish his act of treachery. He knew enough of Europe to fear the retaliation of one among its most considerable powers, and was consequently not astonished, if greatly alarmed, when the sails of Albuquerque's fleet, in 1511, appeared in the Straits of Malacca. The threat of Sequeira was not an idle vaunt. The renowned viceroy of Portugal was then in the meridian of his success. Goa, the centre of wealth in the new world, had fallen into his possession, and thence he proposed a crusade against all the free chiefs of the East. The fertile regions of the Indian Archipelago —famous for spices and gold— attracted his desires, and he fitted out an expedition for the Straits of Malacca. Meanwhile the government of Portugal took up arms to avenge the injurious usage

Preparations for defence.

A. D. 1511.

Albuquerque's plans.

[1] Raffles, *Memoirs*, i. 35.

[2] Marsden, Crawfurd, Raffles.

Second Portuguese expedition.

of its envoy, and a fleet was equipped in 1510, under the command of Diego Mendez, who was directed to establish the influence, if not the actual authority, of Portugal on the Malay peninsula, as the emporium of insular Asia. He sailed to the coast of Malabar, and there met Albuquerque, who, whether through jealousy or prudence, would not allow the little squadron to proceed. In the following year, at the end of May, the viceroy himself sailed from Cochin with nineteen ships and 1400 men.

Design of conquering Malacca.

Albuquerque's voyage.

On the way he touched at Pedir, where he found some Portuguese who had seized a boat at Malacca, put off secretly, crossed the strait under cover of night, and arrived by an unfrequented route at Passe, whose people killed one, and inhospitably treated the rest. They then fled to Pedir, where their welcome was kind and generous. Albuquerque refused to punish the chief of Passe, but renewed the treaty of Sequeira at this port, whence he sailed to Achin, and there also ratified the convention. After settling these affairs he set sail for the peninsula, and during the passage of the straits encountered some native prahus. A desperate and dubious engagement took place, and the action was at length ended by a compromise. On board one of the country boats was a chief, who said his name was Jeinal, that he was lawful king of Passe, driven from his throne by an usurper, and proceeding to Java, where his relations were princes, and would aid his cause. Albuquerque promised him assistance, but Jeinal never claimed it, considering it probably as a dangerous boon.

Preparations for defending Malacca.

The report of the viceroy's arrival had already reached Malacca. Mohammed industriously made preparations for the defence of his city. From an old and implacable enemy of the Portuguese he received a present of

one great gun, while he himself already possessed numerous pieces of small ordnance. The manufacture of these destructive engines was widely known in the East; almost the first knowledge communicated by civilisation to barbarians is the art of fabricating the instruments of war. Mohammed was then expecting the invasion of a great army from Siam; but being reinforced by the alliance of a neighbouring state, prepared with numerous troops to resist the forces of Albuquerque. His ally, the prince of Panay, was also his son-in-law, and the marriage was now in celebration at Malacca. A vast car or wooden house, rolling on thirty wheels, had been constructed, and adorned with embroidered cloths. Seated on this machine, the bridal pair, with the chiefs of highest rank, paraded the town amid songs, dances, feasts, and all the extravagances of barbarian revelry.

Marriage festival in the city.

During these festivities, Albuquerque arrived with his squadron on the first of July, and cast anchor before Malacca. Some merchant barks lying off the town, endeavoured to escape; but the admiral ordered them to be surrounded, and had their captains brought into his presence. He told them to have no fear, as he had come only with views of peace. He would, he said, by negotiation or by force, restore to liberty the Portuguese imprisoned in Malacca; but should only require atonement at the hands of those who had offended. Tranquil spectators should be safe from harm. Many conciliatory speeches were addressed to the traders with a hope that all would end amicably.

On the next day, the king assumed the attitude of perfect innocence, and sent to know what merchandise the Portuguese had brought to sell, as well as with what commodities they desired to load their ships. The answer of Albuquerque was peremptory. He came, he

Negotiations with the king.

said, not at present for commerce, but to liberate his imprisoned countrymen, and when this was accomplished, it would be proper to think of trade. The Mohammedan tyrant, it is said, was implacable in his sanguinary design. He sought to gain time by temporising, and hastened to gather his forces on land, and his fleets by sea, to attack and destroy the Portuguese within the harbour. To succeed in this, a long delay was necessary. The prisoners, he answered, had broken their fetters and fled; but he would recapture and deliver them up. Albuquerque was perplexed. He was eager to punish Mohammed; but more eager to regain his countrymen, some of whom were especially dear to him. By listening to the excuses of the king, he might destroy the chance of setting them free; by employing immediate force, he might expose them to the cruel fury of a desperate savage. But the captives, hearing of Albuquerque's arrival, contrived means to communicate with him, and determined his resolution. He prepared with fire and sword to accomplish the purpose of his voyage.

According to one modern writer on the Archipelago[1] Mohammed agreed to the liberation of the Portuguese, when the admiral made an additional demand on him for a sum of money to pay the expenses of his own expedition and that of Sequeira, with ground for the erection of a fortress. Rejecting these demands, the king continued to prepare his city for defence.

The city assaulted.

Two hundred men landed from the ships, approached the town, and cast into it flaming brands, which kindled the combustible materials composing the poorer class of houses. Favoured by a lively breeze, the fire sprang up and spread widely through the city. Several

[1] Crawfurd, ii. 397.

storehouses, piled with costly merchandise, were burned, and the populace, terrified by the prospect of utter ruin, flocked to the palace, demanding the consent of Mohammed to the Portuguese claims. Fear induced him to submit, and he sent down the captives. Albuquerque then gave the people leave to arrest the conflagration as best they might. When, however, the king proposed to bind himself to faith by a solemn treaty, the viceroy replied by proposing more haughty terms. That a particular spot in the city should be assigned to him, for the erection of an edifice sufficiently strong to protect the Portuguese factors from the elements and from the people; that the king should restore or pay for all he had taken from Sequeira, and defray the expense of the present expedition, which had been set on foot to punish his treachery. Should these conditions be rejected, his envoy, he said, had no more to do than to return to the vessels.

Submission of the king.

Stipulations of the Portuguese.

The king assembled his counsellors. Fear and anger divided their opinions. Some declared submission to be the only safe course; others demanded orders to attack the insolent strangers. Two young princes, one of Panay, the other, Aladdin of Johore, led the ranks of the war party, which prevailed, somewhat against the king's will, and an answer was sent to Albuquerque. He resolved to attack the city on the morrow.

They are rejected.

Malacca was well situated for defence. A tidal river of considerable size divided it into two sections, connected by a strong bridge. Neither walls nor ditches surrounded the masses of leaf-thatched habitations; but the king disposed in confused array many bodies of troops to guard the most accessible approaches. Various places were fortified by wooden towers, mounted with cannon. The two young chiefs who had been most

Strength of Malacca.

Defences.

clamorous for war, were placed in command of an elephant troop to harass the besiegers, and relieve the more distressed points. The Rajah Utimutis, a Javanese chief in the service of Malacca, held a command; but while he feigned to aid with all his energies the plans of the Mohammedan king, carried on secret negotiations with the Portuguese. Probably he considered them sure of success, and prepared to avert from himself the fate hanging over all who were faithful to the native prince. Albuquerque received with joy intelligence of this accession to his chances of success. He knew well that the treachery of a professed friend is more dangerous than the addition of a thousand open enemies to the hostile camp. Reconnoitring Malacca with his practised military eye, he saw that the main point of attack was the bridge — the most formidable position along the whole line of defence. To occupy it, was to cut off all communication between the two sections of the town, and divide the forces of the king.

Treachery of a native chief.

On the festival day of St. Jacques, the Portuguese filled the air with shouts of their patron's name, and advanced to the assault under a storm of bullets. The rude ordnance of the enemy maintained a continual succession of vollies while the troops were landed. But accustomed to war, and especially to bear arms in boats from a fleet to a beach, they pushed on to the attack with the tempered ardour of veterans. Jean Lima commanded the force appointed to storm the royal quarter of the city. Albuquerque undertook to capture the stronger and more populous division, mainly defended by the bridge. The bridge was to be a point of juncture for the troops.

Second assault of Malacca.

Marching along the banks of the river, as far as the suburbs, the admiral led his troops to the assault. On all sides, masses of armed men attempted to deny a

passage; but the Europeans broke their ranks, and quickly made themselves masters of the bridge. On the other side, the king and the prince of Panay, with their forces, offered a courageous front. Mohammed, mounted on an elephant, and followed by a troop of the unwieldy brutes, fell upon the rear. The Portuguese allowed them to rush wildly between their columns, and then attacked them with spears. The ponderous cavalry lost all order. They fled in confusion. They trampled down the masses still pressing from the rear to sustain the city's defence. The king's elephant was first wounded. It fell, and its rider was thrown. De Lima now pushed into the fray, threw his whole strength into one charge, and endeavoured to cut a passage into the streets. The enemy, massed on the left bank of the stream, was driven towards the bridge. There Albuquerque was resting on his arms. All was lost in that direction; and Mohammed, desperately wounded, withdrew his forces into the interior of the city.[1]

Battle with the king's army.

The struggle had been bloody and protracted. The Portuguese had gained considerable advantage; but the admiral, too weary to complete his success, retired to the fleet. He proposed to renew the attack when his plans were more mature. The king interpreted this movement into timidity; though, while consoling his mind with the welcome idea, he would not allow it to seduce him into inactivity. Trenches were opened across the streets; all the approaches — especially those leading to the palace and the Prophet's temple — were planted thickly with poisoned spikes. The guards were doubled at every point, and numerous bodies of troops were posted in the dangerous avenues. Under a part of the main street long mines were run, to be blown up,

Pause in the conflict.

[1] See Pennant, *India extra Gangem*, iii. 26.

should the assailants penetrate so far. Mohammed was little versed in the arts of European warfare. He dreamed of repulsing the enemy altogether, and driving them from the straits. Albuquerque would not risk this result by an immediate renewal of the attack; but prepared for it with deliberate prudence. When all his plans were mature, the assault was ordered.

Third attack.

The scanty force of Europeans and Malabars was distributed into two divisions which advanced along either bank of the river. They found the people of Malacca little dispirited by their recent defeat and crowding all the avenues to the city. Their numbers inspired them with courage, and their resolution was inflamed by a religious zeal. Every inch was contested. Whole ranks were hewn down, but thousands pressed from the rear to supply the places of the fallen. Nevertheless, the valour of Albuquerque's troops prevailed. The front of the barbarian force was broken, and they fell back in tumult on the town. As their closely wedged masses retreated the invaders pressed on, passed line after line of defences, stormed the bridge, and entered the principal street. There an entrenched position was held by the main force of the garrison. It was carried in the face of a furious resistance. Still the victory was not complete, and Albuquerque, retiring to the bridge, fortified himself, and sent detachments to scour the streets and cut off the people.[1]

Fierce battle.

The Malays routed.

Massacre of the inhabitants.

The battle was changed into a massacre. A great slaughter took place. The dead were piled in every footway. Mohammed abandoned his palace, fled, and left Malacca to be plundered for three days. Vast wealth was found in the treasuries. If the Portuguese accounts deserve belief, two hundred thousand crusa-

The city pillaged.

[1] Maffei, *Inde Orientale*, i. 355.

does of gold,—the royal share of the booty—formed only a fifth part of the prize. Spices were discovered in profusion, and these commodities—then so richly esteemed in Europe—were more valuable to their captors than gold or gems. The victory of Malacca established the superiority of European arms, for it was accomplished by a force totally insignificant in comparison with the numbers of the besieged,—estimated at thirty thousand.[1] The Malaccans indeed possessed ordnance, but these engines, in the hands of unskilful races, are less effective than their primitive instruments of war. The sound and flash of artillery inspire them with the idea of a defence altogether unreal. Behind the smoke of great guns they depend on their ineffectual thunder and give way when the war is carried up to the cannon's mouth; but, engaged in close contest with the aid of rude but familiar weapons, they know, at least, their relation to the enemy, and fight or fly according to their actual force. Generally the first struggle of a civilised with a savage force is the easiest. The reason may be that the European is more confident of success against a contemptible foe, and the barbarian more fearful of a strange enemy, whom he invests with attributes which experience does not prove him to possess.

Booty.

Native warfare.

Value of firearms.

Mohammed, driven from his capital, gathered the remnants of the army and retreated to the banks of the Muara, a few miles from the town. There he commenced the fortification of a camp; but Albuquerque immediately led a division of his forces to the spot, attacked the king's entrenchments, drove him over the river, captured his elephant train, and acquired a valuable booty. Malacca was thus a conquered city, and the Portuguese flag was for the first time hoisted in the Indian Archipelago.[2]

Expulsion of the king from Malacca.

First European flag hoisted in the Archipelago.

[1] Crawfurd, ii. 397.

[2] Ibid. ii. 400.

The Malay Peninsula.

The Malayan Peninsula entered early within the circle of the narrative, and claimed a notice as the theatre of events more than three centuries anterior to its conquest by the viceroy of Portugal. But as the cradle and capital of the Portuguese empire in the further East, it deserves more particular attention. It will therefore be necessary to occupy ourselves briefly with a general view of the region and its natural resources.

Position and extent.

From the southern extremity of continental Asia the Malayan Peninsula stretches to the south-east, a length of four hundred and fifty miles. It is connected with the mainland by the Isthmus of Kraw — ninety-seven miles across at the neck.[1] Thence to the head, the breadth of the region varies from fifty to a hundred and

Mountains.

fifty miles. The great mountain chain of India, which terminates one of its branches in Ceylon, sends another across Arracan and Pegu down the whole length of the Malayan Peninsula, and along Sumatra, as far as the islands of Banca and Biliton, where it may be considered to disappear.[2] As it approaches the equator this vast range diminishes in height, from 6,000 feet, above Quedah, to less than 3,000 in the provinces of Rumbowe and Johore.[3] On each side of the ridge the land undulates down to the sea. Extensive forests for the most part cover the interior tracts with shade.

Plains.

Small grassy plains intervene, in positions where the

[1] Forrest.

[2] Dr. Horsfield. See Bland, *Journ. As. Society of Bengal*, v. 575.

[3] Newbold, i. 402. Mount Ophir, a detached mountain thirty or forty or fifty miles east of Malacca, was roughly measured by the well-informed Mr. Newbold, who calculated its height at 5,693 feet. Gold dust is found abundantly near its base, which at an early period gave it the name Ophir, and later suggested it as the source of Solomon's wealth.

drainage of the more elevated region passes them and settles in the narrow level valleys, which intersect the hills. Profuse moisture charges the atmosphere and the soil, encouraging a rank vegetation, which mantles over the whole surface of the country.[1] Abundant moisture.

Many capacious lakes have been formed by the accumulation of water in hollows, on the course of rivers. The copious springs which break from the earth in all directions, continually overflow their basins and discharge the superfluous tribute of the hills into deeply-worn channels, descending on either side of the central range. The countless rills and rivulets thus formed play down the sides of the mountains, until attaining a gradual slope, they ally their volume and flow in large streams into the China Sea on the east, or the Straits of Malacca, and the Indian Ocean on the west. Their swampy banks are covered with mangrove, nipah, and nibong trees, which flourish in most of the islands in similar situations. The nibong and nipah are palmites —the ready materials with which the natives form the corner posts and flooring of their dwellings. From their tough, straight, and elastic stems are made bows and spears; the leaves are used for thatch; from the trunk is extracted a sweet drink, and the leaf-like sheath which envelopes the fruit is in common use in the Straits as a vessel for carrying water.[2] In the depths of the woody region wander tribes of men, in different stages of the savage life, whose traditions trace them to various origins.[3] Lakes, rivers, and streams. Vegetation. Palms. Savage tribes.

In the forests of the north dwell the Semang and the

[1] Newbold, i. 400.

[2] Ibid. i. 443.

[3] An admirable account of the wild tribes of the Peninsula, by the Rev. P. Favre, apostolic missionary at Malacca, was communicated to the *Journ. Ind. Arch.* by the Hon. Lieut.-Col. Butterworth, C. B.

Udai; in the south five tribes of aborigines, and on the shores and islets, the Rayet Laut, or "subjects of the sea."[1] These are Ichthyophagi, holding themselves apart from the Malays, and clinging with the obstinacy of ignorance to their traditional customs. The wild inhabitants of the interior subsist chiefly on the flesh of wild beasts, or the seeds of wild grapes and fruit. In their dark minds glimmer ideas of a God, and their humble veneration is paid to him through the most splendid of his works, the sun. The presence of spirits, controlling with baneful influence the actions of men, is acknowledged, and among some tribes particular persons are believed to possess the power of enforcing by magical spells the service of these malignant beings. Wild customs and strange modes of life prevail among them, though in their barbarian rudeness traces of a fine humanity are discovered. In their huts, raised on tall posts, and reached by means of ladders, signs of comfort are visible. In their uncouth ceremonies some delicacy is apparent, and in their veneration for the dead, and their fear of the great powers of heaven, we discover indications of a temperament not hardened against the influences of true civilisation.[2] Like many wild people, and especially the Black Tartars of Central Asia, they dread thunder, and pause in the prosecution of an enterprise, as though checked by the angry voice of the deity.[3] The Samsams, the Siamese, the Bugis, the Malays, and many other settlers occupy the shores and the cultivated

Condition of the heathens of the Peninsula.

Wild religious beliefs.

Various tribes.

[1] Raffles divides them into the Orang Semang, or people of the hills, and Orang Binua, of the plains, deriving Binua from the Arabic *Beni*.—*Memoirs*, 33.

[2] The credulous traveller who described them as cannibals dwelling in the tops of trees, probably confounded them with the orang-outang.—*Sonnerat*, ii. 102.

[3] Newbold. Claude Visdelou, i. 420.

tracts of the Peninsula, distinguishing themselves by their industry and application to trade and agriculture. In navigation they are rivalled by the Rayet Laut,—expert divers and fishers,—who construct boats, make long voyages, erect temporary villages on the coasts, and collect articles of trade, which they barter with the Malays. Though refusing to associate their fortunes with those of this conquering race, they have derived from them their language, and some of them have exchanged their ancient ideas of religion for the faith of the Prophet.[1]

The sea people.

Barter with the Malays.

The resources of the Malay Peninsula, which have attracted to it the representatives of many races, are in great part mineral.[2] Tin is its most important, because its most plentiful metallic product. This metal, wherever found, has in general a limited geographical distribution[3]; but in the Indian Archipelago occupies a wider range than in any other region. Wherever it exists, it is in great abundance[4], and the ore of the Malay Peninsula is remarkably pure. Great Britain possesses productive mines, but not sufficient to her wants; and 700 tons are annually imported from Banca and the neighbouring countries.[5] From them also the markets of China and Hindustan, with many in Europe, are supplied. The importations into Holland are considerable, and affect the tin trade of Great Britain.[6]

Resources of the Peninsula.

Minerals.

Tin.

[1] See a most valuable account of the Binua of Johore, *Journ. Ind. Arch.* i. 242.

[2] Coal has been discovered, and Captain Congalton has admirably described his search for it. Congalton, *Journ. Ind. Arch.* i. 253. The finest account of the geology is in vol. ii. p. 83.

[3] Crawfurd, iii. 450.

[4] Bedford, *Description of the Tin Countries, unpublished MS.* 4.

[5] Dr. Lardner, *Cabinet Cyclopædia*, No. 54.

[6] M'Culloch, *Dictionary of Commerce.*

Gold. The gold mines which, in the idea of some writers[1], still suggest the Malay Peninsula as the Aurea Chersonesus of antiquity, produce annually to the amount of 19,000 ounces. This quantity is probably little more than the voluntary tribute of the earth, washed down by streams, or deposited near the surface in the neighbourhood of other metals. An accurate knowledge of the country would perhaps discover treasures entitling it to the epithet still claimed for it by some modern geographers.[2] Iron mines are known to exist, but have never been well developed. The beautiful and delicate metal so richly prized among the costly ministers to luxury, is not found; but the name of one of the native states[3], translated from the Malayan original, is Silver; and an historian[4] conjectures it to be the Argusa, or silver land of Ptolemy. A later writer suggests that the inferior but useful metal tin, may at first have been mistaken for silver, and given that appellation to the spot, which retained it as a tradition.[5] Men are averse from removing the names, as well as the landmarks of their ancestors, and preserve them long after they have lost their signification, and dwindled into empty sound.[6]

Iron.

Silver.

Vegetable productions. The wild and the true nutmeg, cinnamon, cloves, pepper, camphor, dammar, indigo, gambir; cotton, coffee, sugar, sago, rice, and tobacco, are produced on the Peninsula in abundance, proportionate to the in-

[1] Newbold, i. 430. Gold of Malacca. See Westerhout, *Journ. Ind. Arch.* ii. 171.

[2] It is mentioned as the Sophora, or Land of Gold, by Josephus, lib. viii. c. ii.

[3] Perak.

[4] Marsden.

[5] Newbold, i. 426.

[6] The land where peacocks were found (Kings, x. 22.) has been fancifully supposed the country round Ophir in the Peninsula.—*Pennant*, iii. 20.

dustry applied to their culture and collection. The cocoa and the betel nut; the plantain, the teak [1], the ebony, the eagle, the aloe, the sandal and the sapan wood tree, supply valuable articles for exportation, besides rattans, ivory, salt, wax, and an immense variety of fruits.[2] The qualities of the soil are excellent; but it has been subjected only to imperfect processes of agriculture, and whole tracts remain in their original nakedness, or clothed in the wanton profusion of verdure characteristic of the tropical wild. The extensive forests which attract the clouds to empty themselves over the country, render its atmosphere moist. Otherwise its salubrity is great; but low fevers arise from the swamps, and unwholesome exhalations generate under the trees. The extreme of cold is never felt, and the seasons are regularly divided into wet and dry, though the surface of the region, in its beautiful variety of outline — hill, plain, and valley — is covered with perpetual green. This rich mantle is never, even in the sultry days of summer, deprived of its bright and lively hue; for the hot breezes, blowing from the land, pass over wide tracts of forest country, and are cooled by the moisture of the air.[3] The fiery blasts of India and the African deserts, travelling over waste and arid plains, appear heated by the sun as they move, and burn more fiercely the further they extend their influ-

Soil.

Climate.

Beautiful verdure.

Winds.

[1] Bedford, *Description of the Tin Countries, unpublished MS.* 18.

[2] The delicious mangusteen, the boast of India among them: —

> "*Cedant Hesperii longe hinc, mala aurea fructus*
> *Ambrosia pascit Mangostam, et nectare Divos.*"

Bontius, *Hist. Nat. Ind. Orient.* l. vi. c. 27. p. 115. See also Martyn's Abridgment, viii. 755., and *Herbarium Amboynense*, i. 132.

[3] Newbold, i. 400.

ence. In the interior, the swampy banks of rivers emit clouds of low brooding vapour, similar to the exhalations which rise on the shores of the marshy lakes in South America.

Beasts. Wild beasts of many singular species contest the possession of the remoter districts with the wandering savages, supposed aboriginal to the soil. The elephant, the royal and the black tiger, the wild hog, the buffalo, the bison, and the palandok, or pigmy deer, with many other creatures, inhabit the woods. Near the neighbouring coast is found what may be described as the link between the creatures of the land and the water—

The Mermaid. the Duyong, or Daughter of the Sea, fabled in Oriental romance as the mermaid of the Indian Ocean. Only one species has been discovered, whose flesh is usually set apart for sultans and rajahs, as too delicious for the taste of inferior men.[1]

Birds. The birds of the Peninsula are in endless variety, from the splendid crimson-feathered pergam[2], to the crow and the sparrow, common to all quarters of the

Reptiles. globe.[3] The principal reptiles are turtles, crocodiles, alligators, the flying dragon of Linnæus, the tiger snake, and the cobra di capello. The sword and the

Fish. ray-fish, the zebra, and the hammer-headed shark abound, among countless other species.[4] The Chætodon rostratum is an extraordinary creature which kills its prey by the projection of a drop of water from its tubular mouth. The blow is accurately aimed, and so forcible, that it seldom fails in effect.[5] In the woods

[1] Edinburgh Cabinet Library, viii. 76.

[2] See Latham, ii. 623. Supp. 111. [3] Newbold, i. 439.

[4] Bedford collected the names and descriptions of more than a hundred and fifty. *Description of the Tin Countries, unpublished MS.* 46.

[5] Newbold, i. 440.

and morasses, the drone of innumerable insects, accompanied by the howl of wandering beasts, fills the air with a clamour like that which entertained the ears of the great German traveller, among the forests of South America[1]; and the banks of rivers are all night illuminated by glittering swarms of the fire-fly. Forest sounds.

In the forests thus populous with the animal creation, are found many kinds of timber applicable to the purposes of the shipwright, the barge and boat-builder, the cabinet-maker, and the turner. Some of the woods are delicately veined, and may be polished like the mahogany of Spain. The universal inhabitant of the Eastern wood — the bamboo — with the white-barked upas tree, and others in unknown variety, afford to the natives materials for the erection of houses, and the poisoning of their weapons' points. In a general view, the resources of the Peninsula may be considered among the richest in the Archipelago, though few regions of similar extent remain so uncultured and savage.[2] Timber. Cabinet woods.

This important region has from an early period been divided into many states; some independent, some united by a kind of federal alliance, and some dependent on the neighbouring power of Siam. On the western coast are Quedah, Perak, Salangore, Malacca, and Johore, extending in order from north to south. On the east, Johore is joined to Pahang, which is followed by Kemanan, Zinganu, Kalantan and Patani. In the interior are Jellalu in the north, followed in succession southward by Janbole, Sungre Ujong, Srimenanti, Rumbowe, Johole, Jehlye, and Seganet, which is contiguous to Johore, at the head of the peninsula. Above Quedah and Patani, Lower Siam extends as far Native states of the Peninsula.

[1] Humboldt, *Aspects of Nature*.
[2] See Le Poivre, *Voyage d'un Philosophe*, 67. 78.

as the Isthmus of Kraw. Across this neck of land, according to a most acute and observant traveller[1], could be established an easy intercommunication between the Indian and Chinese oceans. On the west, a navigable river flows within six hours' journey of another, which discharges itself into the Gulf of Siam; and the natives affirm that a canal might be cut between the two[2], connecting the Indian Ocean with the China Sea, on the east, as that of Nicaragua will join it to the Pacific on the west.

Neck of the Peninsula.

Power of Malacca.

It will be remembered that when Sequeira arrived at Malacca, the power of that state was felt and acknowledged in most of the contiguous territories. The king of Siam had already, indeed, attempted to usurp an influence by the force of his savage arms[3]; but the victory of the Portuguese spared the Lower Peninsula from the ravages of an invasion. The conquerors applied themselves at first to the foundation of their dominion, as though their purpose was to profit by their acquisition to the extent of its value.[4] Their triumph —celebrated in the spirit of the time by a jubilee of havoc and plunder—was secured by acts of unprincipled power. Albuquerque has been described as the greatest and wisest conqueror of his age.[5] He was an able, but not wholly a politic man; and if the graces of humanity are required to complete the character that is claimed for him, impartial history cannot accord him the honour. When Malacca was captured, and he entered on the course of policy which he judged would conduct most safely to power, the means chosen dis-

Early policy of the Portuguese.

Character of Albuquerque.

[1] Forrest. [2] Newbold, i. 400.

[3] Bedford, *Description of the Tin Countries, unpublished MS.* 2.

[4] De Barros, *Decada* III. vi. 3.

[5] Maffei, *Inde Orientale*, i. 145.

played themselves as the true inventions of a barbarous genius.

First acts of the conquerors.

The first acts of the victors, nevertheless, though severe, were not impolitic. A castle of great strength was erected to overawe the population, and with it rose a church as the citadel of a moral empire. The merchants, whom fear had driven from the town, were recalled by promises of indulgent treatment and liberty of trade. The population of pagan and Mohammedan natives, with the Malays as well as the Muslims from Western India and Java, were thus terrified by the guns, while they were surprised by the religious rites of their new rulers, and soothed by their promises of forbearance. Short time passed before the treatment of the native Mohammedans and the emigrants from Western India initiated them into the mysteries of Portuguese policy. They were condemned to a common slavery, and the elevation of two unpopular chiefs — one the treacherous rajah Ninachetuan; the other, Utimutis, a pretender to the throne — rooted a spirit of hatred deep in the minds of the people. By their tyranny the Portuguese inflamed the feelings of the conquered race, and by their royal insolence alienated the few who had owned themselves their friends.[1]

Enslavement of the people.

Cruelty to the chiefs.

When despots desire to cut off those whom they fear, it is their general and traditionary policy to accuse them of treasonous plots. Albuquerque acted on this plan. The rajah Utimutis and his son-in-law, whether through a dangerous growth in opulence, or a sudden rise to popularity, excited his jealousy. Innocent or guilty, they had no resource. Accused of treating secretly with the enemies of the Portuguese, they were brought to condemnation, and put to death in the hall which

[1] Crawfurd, ii. 402.

had been prepared by Mohammed for the banquet to Sequeira and his company. The claim to mercy which eighty years confer on every man, the supplications of the old chief's wife, and the offer of 100,000 crowns, failed to save him.

Fate of Ninachetuan.

The fate of Ninachetuan—though for two years he stood tottering on the summit of the conqueror's favour—naturally introduces itself here. He was capriciously accused, and driven with shame from his post. To revenge the injury, he devised a plan, in conformity with the religion he professed, and calculated to stir up the anger of the fanatic race of pagans whose temporary governor he had been. Erecting a lofty funeral pyre, in an open space, he piled it with costly perfumed woods, and fragrant spices. The old chief ascended the heap, and in the sight of crowded multitudes sacrificed himself to his anger. He had learned to his cost the lesson, that they who accept the aid of a traitor seldom repay the service with consistent gratitude. Certainly, of all men, Ninachetuan, who betrayed Malacca, could with least justice reproach its conquerors for their little faith. The rajah Kampar—of a state on the eastern shore of Sumatra—was named the successor of this unfortunate pagan. When the native powers of the Archipelago heard of the conquest of Malacca, they sent missions of conciliation, and the chief of Kampar was foremost among them. He had formerly married a daughter of the king Mohammed; but had quarrelled with his father-in-law. He begged the Portuguese to accept him as governor of the Malays in their new state. A present of lignum aloes and gum Arabic accompanied this request; but Albuquerque, in the first instance, refused it. After the sacrifice of Ninachetuan, however, the rajah of Kampar was chosen to succeed him. He followed him in mis-

Sacrifices himself.

The rajah Kampar.

Elevated to power.

fortune. A naked suspicion was enough to identify him with a conspiracy. He was condemned, and his execution, with the policy that dictated it, drove into rebellion the Javan chief, whose hostility was long formidable to the new rulers of Malacca.[1] His fall.

Nevertheless the conquerors, while in peculiar instances they inflamed the hearts of the people, made lavish use of those means which inspire a barbarous race with admiration of one which at least lays claim to civilisation. Grand pageants and processions dazzled the eyes of the populace, and the public distribution of money won for Albuquerque that respect which the pauper pays to his patron. The circulation of gold, silver, and tin coins, with pompous displays of wealth and power, were among the politic measures adopted with the view of securing the acquisition of Malacca. It was also the plan of the Portuguese to infuse into the population a large proportion of strangers, to outweigh the national element. Policy of the conquerors.

The neighbouring kings, astonished at the sudden apparition, the brilliant triumph, and the magnificence of the new power which had sprung up among the islands of the East, were eager to secure its alliance. They foresaw that the dominion thus planted must spread. To conciliate Albuquerque, therefore, they dispatched ambassadors to congratulate the conqueror on his success. Envoys arrived from Siam, Pegu, Java, and Sumatra, deprecating the hostility of a power superior to them all. But the Spice Islands were the most attractive regions in the Archipelago. The fame of their costly productions had extended over the globe. Although, therefore, Albuquerque replied politely[2] to Embassies from the native kings. Replies of Albuquerque.

[1] Maffei, *Inde Orientale*, i. 359.

[2] Barros, *Decada* III. vi. 3.

the chiefs, it was on the Moluccas that his views were mainly bent. An embassy, indeed, was sent to Java, two years after the conquest of Malacca, and thirty-three after the triumph of the Muslims in that island. No conquest, however, was attempted there, and the Portuguese are unnoticed in the native annals.[1]

[1] Crawfurd, ii. 340.

CHAPTER IV.

The Moluccas, though their prominence in the affairs of the further East commences at a later date, were among the first islands explored by the Portuguese. Antonio de Abreu was dispatched before the close of the year[1] to examine their situation, and procure specimens of their celebrated products. The voyage led him among groups of islets, various in size and form, but all beautiful from the abundance of their vegetation. At Amboyna he was received with honour and hospitality. The native races of the Archipelago have in most instances welcomed strangers with a confidence and cordiality seldom repaid. The captain of one vessel, while De Abreu was sailing back to Malacca with a cargo of spices, separated from the squadron, and, encountering a storm, was wrecked on the shore of a desert isle. There his fate would have been to perish miserably of hunger, had not some fishermen, paddling along the coast, observed a strange barque thrown on the beach, and making for it discovered the desolate mariners. They took them on board their prahus, and carried them to Amboyna. They were received by the friendly natives with a hospitality characteristic of the Moluccan race.[2] They were clothed, fed, and sheltered with a humanity which should have secured their attachment, but failed to prevent their treachery.[3]

The Moluccas.

Abreu's voyage in search of them.

Reception at Amboyna.

Hospitable fishers.

[1] Barros, *Decada* III. book v. 6.

[2] Drake in Purchas, I. ii. 54, 55.

[3] Crawfurd, ii. 406.

The result of De Abreu's voyage was not unimportant. It revealed to the European eye what had long been celebrated by rumours, romances, and the accounts of Arabian travellers. At each place where the Portuguese landed, a small pillar was set up to commemorate their visit. The view of the Moluccas, enchanting in its beautiful variety, rivetted their gaze, as they sailed slowly through the tortuous channels which separate the islands. The nutmeg tree, dispersed in groves, attracted every eye by the richness of its flowers and fruit, variegated in hue like the iris, changing from blue to brown, and thence into a flame colour, which deepens into crimson. Of Banda, an island to the southward of Amboyna, very fertile and abundant in its produce of spice [1], accounts were circulated in language of eloquent exaggeration. It was described as the crown in wealth and beauty of all this famous Archipelago. Teeming with rare fruits, and inhabited by strange beasts, its forests shaded at intervals the fertile plains that surrounded a magnificent hill in the centre of the island. On the summit, encircled and supported by a wall of living rock, extended a spacious table-land. In the middle of this stood a large grove, whose trees were covered with variously tinted leaves. The soil supported natural plantations of spice-bearing shrubs, watered by a thousand pure springs which bubbled up abundantly and fed the numerous rivers irrigating the plains below. The ample beauties of the island were thus exaggerated in the ideas of the early voyagers, and their credulity accepted every account with equal faith.

First view of the Moluccas.

The nutmeg.

Banda.

Its beauty.

Quarrels in the Moluccas.

While Francis Seiran, the shipwrecked captain, was at Amboyna, he excited his company to numerous quarrels with the natives. The Moluccans quickly dis-

[1] Maffei.

covered the character of the wanderers they had welcomed to their towns. Nevertheless they endeavoured to secure their friendship, as they perceived and feared their power. At that period the kings of Ternate and Tidor,—sister islands in aspect, form, and produce,—were at war. Each was solicitous to secure the alliance of the strangers. Bolief, prince of Ternate, as the more powerful, succeeded. With ten vessels, and a thousand men, he proceeded to Amboyna, where he met the captain, and instructed him, after a fashion of his own, in the condition and resources of the Molucca islands. The influence of Portugal was thus, by the accident of Seiran's shipwreck, established in the Spice group. In Siam it had been rooted by the conquest of Malacca, which the king vainly claimed as a dependent territory. Certainly, had he been restrained by no fear, he would have attempted to punish the aggression on his dominion; but feeling himself in the relation of a weaker to a stronger power, he thanked the Portuguese for their chastisement of a rebellious subject, and invited them to remain on the Peninsula. They were content to flatter his pride, while they fortified themselves in their new possession. Next year they extended their researches to Celebes, a picturesque and fertile island of the first rank, divided from Borneo, on the west, by the Straits of Macassar. The king of Goa Macassar, a state in the north-west, allowed them to found a settlement on his territory. Some of the inhabitants of the province had already abandoned the Pagan belief, and, under their ruler, assumed the faith of Mohammed, exercising that hospitality enjoined by the religion of the Prophet.

Treaty with Ternate.

Siam.

A. D. 1512. Progress of the Portuguese.

Having passed a year at Malacca to regulate the framing of the new government, Albuquerque left a deputy in charge of the settlement, and sailed with a portion of his fleet towards Malabar, where events

seemed to call for his presence. Portugal had spread her dominions widely in the East, and the arms of the famous viceroy protected with vigour the colonies she had formed on many coasts in the new world. Near the shore of Sumatra he fell in with a violent tempest, which left only a scattered remnant of his squadron floating on the waves of the straits. The precious gifts of the kings who had sought his alliance were lost in the sea. Hardly was the adventurous conqueror himself rescued by his crew. Several men, drifting on a raft to Passe, in Sumatra, were well treated, and sent in a trading prahu to Coromandel. The native powers endeavoured, by such acts of grace, to conciliate the strangers whom they feared to attack, and could not hope to overcome.

Wreck of the admiral's ships.

Meanwhile the Malays of the peninsula, led by their Laksimana, or general, a famous and influential chief, gathered in great force to recover their conquered soil. They invested Malacca, and prepared to assault it with all the resources at their command. The Portuguese, inferior in number but superior in skill and courage, gave them battle, defeated them, and captured their leader. Still the war only paused, and the belligerents prepared to renew it with aggravated fury, when two enemies appeared and speedily cooled their ardour. These were famine and pestilence, which spread with virulent effect among the troops. Subdued by this double affliction, the Malays and Portuguese concluded a truce.

Attempt of the Malays to recover Malacca.

The lieutenant of Albuquerque had now to contend against another and a more formidable enemy. Having saved Malacca from the first of the long series of sieges it endured, his forces were required to march against Patiquiter, the Javanese ally of the dethroned king. Defeated, but not disheartened, Mohammed was re-

Dangers of the city.

solved to attempt without ceasing the recovery of his capital city and the crown of the Peninsula. The armies met. The Javanese totally overthrown, retreated to the seashore, embarked hurriedly in their prahus, put out and fled to their native island. There Patiunus, a powerful chief of Japara, on the east of Java, was preparing an armament for the invasion of Malacca.

Advantages of the Portuguese.

In recollecting the dangers which threatened this city, we must remember that a place of such strength, garrisoned by Europeans, might be invested by a host of barbarians without standing in any extremity of peril. The enemies possessed no batteries, no weapons of assault formidable against walls and towers. The numbers of the besieging armies, also, are doubted, as well as those of the Malaccan army defeated by Albuquerque.[1] The truth is, that we can rely implicitly neither on these nor on any similar statements. Columbus is described routing, with two hundred men, a hundred thousand [2]; but the probability is that a rude guess, or a misapprehension of native accounts, or the vanity which induces men to exaggerate their own valour, originated the idea of such armies. Early in the next year, however, the king of Japara sailed, it is said, with a fleet of nearly three hundred prahus. When within a few hours' sail of Malacca he was encountered by a Portuguese squadron, and defeated with the loss of eight thousand men and sixty vessels. These victories filled the Europeans with pride, but failed to intimidate their enemies. Nor were they politic enough, while defending themselves against invasion, to secure their own power on the only sure basis, the conciliated affections of their subjects. The execution of Ninachetuan's successor, the Rajah of

Attack upon Java. A. D. 1513.

[1] Hon. E. Blundell, *Journ. Ind. Archipelago*, ii. 731.

[2] Las Casas, *Hist. Ind.* liv. i. c. 104. MS., quoted by Washington Irving, *Life of Columbus*, ii. 269.

A. D. 1514. Kampar, took place in 1514, and the inhabitants of Malacca were disgusted by the act of cruelty. More than one plot was formed to destroy or expel the Portuguese; but the weakness or imprudence of the conspirators led all their projects to the same result of failure.

Disaffection of the people. The people then evinced their hatred by the almost total desertion of the city. They thronged to the standard of Mohammed the ex-king, who still meditated the design of driving out the Portuguese. Expelled from the territory of Malacca he descended the

Johore. peninsula, and entered the territory of Johore, which spread from sea to sea. In an ancient period a rich empire had flourished here, extending its authority over several neighbouring countries. The two Mussulman travellers of Remandot, who visited the Archipelago in the ninth century, describe the city of Zaba, which according to some writers is the metropolis of that wealthy oriental kingdom noticed by Ptolemy.[1] The Arabians magnified its splendour as an opulent emporium of commerce seated on the banks of the Johore river, which they said was as large as the Euphrates. Whatever was its ancient magnificence, the state had now declined, and Mohammed, flying from Malacca, laid the foundations of a Mohammedan city at the head of the peninsula. The first Malay emigrants from Sumatra had, according to their traditions, founded a colony here, whence they were driven by invasions from Java. Still the courageous prince continued the active enemy of the Portuguese.

A. D. 1515. Mohammed of Malacca again assails Before another year had passed, he collected, as king of Johore, and the adjacent isle of Bintan, a fleet of considerable strength, and blockaded Malacca by sea,

[1] Wilford, *Newbold*, ii. 45.

but without success. He returned to the attempt next year, was again defeated, and resumed it in 1518. Seventy Portuguese only remained in the town. Mohammed, therefore, prosecuted the siege with great vigour, but failed in breaking an entrance, though by means of entrenched camps he held the city in strict blockade during twelve months. Reinforcements for the Europeans then arrived, assaulted his position, carried it, and drove him with his army to Bintan.

the Portuguese. A. D. 1516. A. D. 1518. A. D. 1519.

The Portuguese saw the value of their influence in the extreme East, and now attempted to extend it, for the purposes of trade. One of their merchants, making a voyage to China, visited for the first time the mighty island of Borneo. He touched at the mouth of a great river on the north-east coast, and finding there a city named it Brauni.[1]

First visit to Borneo.

In Malacca, the Portuguese defended themselves with success against the attempts of Mohammed, his allies, and the disaffected populations of the peninsula. But they also suffered disasters. Among the most eminent native states in the Archipelago was Achin, on the north-western extremity of Sumatra. The historian of that island[2] describes it as the only Sumatran kingdom whose annals are of a political consequence enough to entitle them to a place in domestic history. It was indeed a rich and powerful sovereignty, and, in the brightest period of its existence, its alliance was claimed by the great potentates of Europe. In actual territory Achin only extended forty or fifty miles to the south-east, but its conquests spread further on either shore, and at one time reached Indrapura. The province is

Kingdom of Achin in Sumatra.

Extent and power of Achin.

[1] Temminck, ii. 134. Mr. J. R. Logan, however, throws a doubt on this statement. *Journ. Ind. Arch.* iii. 500.

[2] Marsden, *History*, 313.

comparatively healthy, the soil light and fertile, the productions varied and rich, the people superior in industry and intelligence to their neighbours.[1] Numerous towns and ports were built on the coasts and river shores. On a broad stream which flows through an extensive valley at the extremity of the island stands Achin, the capital. It is built on piles, and probably remains little altered in aspect by the lapse of three centuries. A flourishing commerce was once carried on here in gold dust, japan wood, betel nuts, pepper, sulphur, camphor, benjamin, cotton cloths, and silks, with other commodities prized in Europe and India. Here was at one period the great mart of the further East; but the kingdom, after a brilliant struggle with the Portuguese, declined from its importance, and has sunk with the other native states. The people, submitting to an hereditary tyranny, were barbarous and cruel. It is a fact which may be valuable to the theorist on crimes and penalties, that nowhere were offences punished with more savage severity than among the Achinese, who have been and remain one of the most fraudulent and flagitious nations in Asia.[2]

Ancient mart.

Civilisation of Achin.

Rising influence of the Achinese.

When the Portuguese arrived in the Straits of Malacca, Achin was rising to importance. They immediately opened an intercourse with its king, and established a factory in his capital. When, however, the distresses of the Europeans on the peninsula seemed to offer him an opportunity, the Sumatran prince broke faith, and killed or captured all of their race in his dominions. Honour between nations appears seldom to have formed part of the creed of an Indian monarch; and probably the Achinese sovereign, slaughtering the Portuguese who had confided in his protection, or the terror of

Treachery of their king.

[1] Marsden, 315.

[2] Ibid. 321.

their country's arms, reflected on the achievement as on a virtuous and manly act. Morals among all but a few are matters of habit as well as opinion. It is therefore, perhaps, unjust to try the actions of Asiatics, governed by a peculiar system, by the laws of our own national code. Nor were the Portuguese concerned with many scruples save those of policy. Established at Malacca, they meditated conquests on the opposite island, to prosecute that search for mines which caused their bankruptcy at last.[1] Accounts of its wealth in precious metals had been rumoured through India and Europe. Above all these were said to lie near its coast, certain islands abounding in mines of gold and other riches.[2] A Portuguese adventurer, named Diego Pacheco, was entrusted with the conduct of an expedition to explore the seas in that direction, and inquire into the truth of these reports. He sailed with one ship and a brigantine. Arriving off Daya, on the western coast of Sumatra, the smaller vessel foundered. Pacheco then proceeded alone southward to Barus, on the same island, famous for its trade in gold and gum benjamin of rare fragrance.[3] Prahus from the west of India and the neighbouring ports resorted here for cargoes, bringing the cotton fabrics of India to exchange for the less bulky, but more precious, merchandise of Barus. A fleet of these curious barques, of various size and build, was lying in the roads when the Portuguese arrived. Their crews terrified, fled to land. The chiefs then sent to know whence the strangers came, and why? Pacheco replied that he sought friendship, and offered liberty of trade at Malacca. A traffic was

Search for the Isles of Gold.

Market at Barus.

[1] Smith, *Wealth of Nations*, 354.
[2] Marsden, 327. Heylyn, *Cosmography*, 923.
[3] Marsden, 328.

opened, and in the warmest amity the merchants bartered the curiosities of the East for those of the West.

Inquiring at all places for the islands of gold, the Portuguese fancied that the people were reluctant to disclose the secret of their situation. When at length they gave any account, it was of a group lying a hundred leagues off, and separated from Sumatra by a maze of rocks and shoals impenetrable to large ships, and to be threaded only by light and slender barques. But Pacheco was not induced to abandon his search for the golden oases in the sea, the paradise of his own and his countrymen's fancy. He continued steering southward, pursuing the unreached object of his hope, and exploring all the neighbouring waters. The rich islands were never discovered. Did any such exist, they were probably the Ticos[1], which may have been depots for the gold of Menangcabao, and attracted the traders of the East, who came to the Archipelago in search of the precious metal. Pacheco, however, never abandoned his belief in this insular El Dorado. Passing through the Sunda Strait, he ranged the whole length of Sumatra, and returned to Malacca by the east, being the first European who ever circumnavigated the great island.[2] Next year he once more explored the seas in search of the Ilhas d'Oro, but quarrelled with the natives of Barus, and was cut off with the whole of his company.

Rumours of the golden Archipelago.

New explorations.

In other parts of Sumatra, the natives, inflamed against the Portuguese, commenced hostilities against them, and invited conquest in their territories. A vessel wrecked on an island near Achin Head was plundered by pirates, and many of the men were killed. A piratical attack was made on a merchant-man at

Hostilities with the islanders.

[1] Marsden, 328.

[2] Ibid.

another place; blood was shed, and the ship's cargo was pillaged. The people of Passe also committed several ravages, which induced the governor of Malacca to send Manuel Pacheco with an armed schooner to blockade the ports of Sumatra, cut off the supplies, and harass the native fisheries. After a short contest the aggressors apologised and sued for peace. The Portuguese relinquished the idea of revenge for the prospect of trade, and gladly took cargoes of pepper and raw silk. The pepper was to freight the ships preparing for China.[1]

Influence established in Sumatra.

To ground their influence deeply in Sumatra, the conquerors of Malacca employed the obvious policy of intervention in the affairs of native states. Through an ocean of slaughter they carried a pretender to the throne of Passe — a child of tender age. Installed in power by the Portuguese he was bound to reward them. He acknowledged himself tributary to their crown, granted them the whole pepper produce of his country at a fixed price, and promised to pay the expenses of a fort which they then commenced erecting. A hundred men were left in garrison. The squadron had no sooner sailed than these were attacked by the forces of another pretender. After a brief and sanguinary struggle the besiegers were routed and wholly overthrown.[2]

Among the Spice Islands.

The influence of Portugal, thus planted in Sumatra, was in the same year further extended among the Spice Islands. George de Britto, dispatched thither with a squadron of nine vessels, touched at Achin by the way. There an incident occurred which, of no historical importance though it be, deserves narration. A Portuguese, named Juan Borba, who had fled from Passe

[1] Marsden, 329.

[2] Ibid. 330.

Treachery of the Portuguese in Achin.

when his countrymen were attacked there, had prospered at Achin on the kindness of the prince. He was afterwards shipwrecked, with nine of his companions, and entertained in the same hospitable city. De Britto, on his arrival, was met by this man, who poured into his ear accounts of a certain temple reputed to be stored with wealth, which he incited him to attack.

Accusation against the king.

To justify him in the enterprise he declared that the king possessed the stores and artillery of a stranded vessel, as well as those of the brigantine lost by Pacheco, during his unrealised dreams of the Isles of Gold. These accusations he intermingled with accounts of the king's barbarity, which determined De Britto, or rather lent a colour of reason, to his demands. A messenger came to offer refreshment to the fleet. He was charged with a reply, requiring the restoration of the plunder. The king's answer was, that the sea had swallowed them up, and that his white friend must make application to the powers of the ocean; an answer which was taken, as probably it was not meant, as an insolent jeer, since the islanders have peopled all creation with deities, so

Indian mythology.

that the treasures of the wrecked mariners were possibly believed to have been swept into the coffers of some water-king, the Poseidon of Indian mythology.

Adventure in search of the temple treasury.

Nevertheless De Britto resolved to attack the temple. He was as confident of success as he was greedy of the prize. His captains consented joyfully to the plan, but when another vessel arrived to offer aid refused it, desiring neither to share the danger, nor to divide the profits of the adventure. At break of day they landed two hundred men in small boats, leaving orders for the grand division to follow when the vanguard had secured a position on shore. Advancing up the river they captured a small fort on its bank, but fell into an unexpected contest before the signal of attack was given.

An unequal struggle took place, and was fiercely carrying on, when the king, at the head of six elephants and eight hundred men, suddenly appeared, and fell upon the small band of Europeans. The reserve was sent for, but ere it arrived De Britto received an arrow through the cheek, and another through the thighs, while almost the whole of his companions were cut to pieces, and the rest driven to the boats. Fifty men "of noble family," who had taken part in this plundering errand of treachery, were killed. Whether the temple really was a treasury or not is problematical; but the supposition is supported by the number and resolution of its defenders. Their zeal in the defence of a religious edifice may, however, have been mistaken for the courage which animates men when fighting for their possessions.

Slaughter of the Portuguese.

The squadron left Achin in disgrace, and met two ships which had been searching for the Isles of Gold. They joined company, and sailed to Passe, where the Portuguese were engaged in the erection of their fort.[1]

The expedition to the Moluccas was not, nevertheless, abandoned. Several ships, under the command of Antonio de Britto, sailed thither, to explore their riches, and establish the Portuguese influence at the courts of the native kings.

Voyage to the Moluccas.

Meanwhile the erection of an authority in Sumatra was an object faithfully kept in view. One device has been common to the conquerors of the New World. Few have boldly declared that they claimed possession of the soil by the right of arms; but espousing the cause of some native chief have made him the foil of their ambition, and under cover of his alliance completed their own projects of aggrandisement. The

Policy of the conquerors.

[1] Marsden, 340.

Spaniards in America, the Portuguese and the Dutch in the further East, the English and the French in India, flourished by this policy. In the example which now presents itself the Portuguese suffered by allying their arms with those of a Sumatran prince. The details of the transaction illustrate a remarkable feature in the social condition of those regions. When Malacca was conquered, Achin and Daya were tributary to Pedir, and ruled by two slaves, sons-in-law of its sultan. The condition of bondsmen in the islands was not then, and never has been, so low as in most other parts of the world. Men often bartered their liberty for the protection of power, and the King of Achin had thus sold himself, and held his dignity in dependence on the sultanate of Pedir. Weak with years he resigned the throne to his eldest son, who invaded the territories of Daya, and rebelled against the Sultan's supreme authority. The parent, on whose vacated throne he sat, endeavoured to dissuade him from this dangerous policy; but the ambitious young sovereign, irritated by interference, imprisoned his father for life in an iron cage. The revolt became formidable. By the pillage of some merchant ships, and the capture of De Britto's cannon, the King of Achin was well provided for a campaign. By the combined arts of intrigue and war, the Sultan was driven from Pedir to shelter himself with the Europeans at Passe, and the chief of Daya compelled to join him in his retreat. The rebel Ibrahim extended his operations through the country, committed great havoc among the people, and invested the fort with a numerous army. The garrison was small, but the rude fortifications were gallantly defended. One of the native chiefs of Passe, corrupted by the enemy, intrigued with them, and thus increased the general danger. Meanwhile the allies of Pedir made preparation to

Politics of Sumatra.

Politics of the Indian palace.

Civil war.

succour their master, and Henriquez, governor of the fort, more of a merchant than a warrior, resigned his post. He sailed for Malacca, and met two Portuguese ships bound for the Spice Islands. Their commander, informed of the extremity of his countrymen at the new settlement, made all haste to succour them. He reached Passe by night. The whole country was in the enemy's possession. The capital alone, shielded by the European fort, remained unsubdued.

Attack on the Portuguese fort. Night battle.

Heavy discharges of cannon, incessantly repeated, told that an earnest struggle was even then going on. The Achinese army had made a desperate assault, carried some of the outworks, and driven the besieged to the point of surrender. In the dusk of evening they had discerned the sails of the Portuguese vessels appearing over the horizon, and rushed to storm the city before aid could arrive. Fortunately the valour of their enemies sustained them at the critical moment. The vessels anchored, the captains headed their men, threw themselves among the garrison, and encouraged them to a fierce and effectual sally upon the besieging men. Ibrahim then moved his camp to a distance.

Repulse of the Indians.

New assault by night.

The pride of the savage rebel was wounded to see fifteen thousand of his warriors repulsed by a body of three hundred and fifty men, weakened by famine and fatigue. He summoned his chiefs and ordered another assault, to be made upon all sides of the fortifications. Eight thousand of his troops, before break of day, were assembled for the attack. They spread themselves over the ground, partially saved from the volleys of the besieged by the gloom, and by a favourable shower of rain. They closed in stealthy silence round the fort, were discovered, and rushed with a tremendous shout to the assault. Six hundred light ladders of bamboo were placed against the timber ramparts, and principally

near the entrances, but these apertures were vigorously defended, and the whole country rang with repeated volleys, shouts, and other sounds of conflict. The barbarians, with frantic valour, sought to scale the walls, but were hewn down as they mounted, or swept off by the guns as they approached. Driven back they invented a new device. A body of seven elephants was urged headlong against the wooden stockades, which fell before this living battery. Showers of pikes and javelins were ineffectual to check the advance of the ponderous brutes; but explosions of gunpowder, glaring in their eyes, struck them with terror. They plunged, they turned about, broke through the ranks that goaded them on from the rear, and fled away over the country to the distance of several miles.

Use of elephants as a battery.

Still the Achinese pushed on to the assault, and closed in increasing multitudes around the walls. Their own fierceness prevented their success. They set fire to several ships in the dockyard, and thus kindled a splendid torch, by the light of which the cannon of the fort were pointed and played with more deadly effect than ever.

Conflagration in the port.

The commander who had abandoned his post, driven by unfavourable winds, re-entered the port, and assumed his authority. His timid counsel prevailed. The Portuguese resolved to desert the place. The small guns and portable stores were packed as merchandise, and conveyed to the ships. The heavy pieces of ordnance were loaded beyond their strength, that they might do execution among the enemy as they poured triumphantly in. The Portuguese then hurried to the place of embarkation, and took to their boats. Immediately the Achinese crowded the fort, quenched the matches, broke the trains of powder, and turned the overcharged artillery upon their flying and defeated enemies.

Desertion of their stronghold by the Portuguese.

Manœuvre of the besiegers.

Conduct of the garrison.

The defence of Passe had been gallant, its evacuation was disgraceful. Had the garrison held out a few weeks longer, succours of stores and men would have arrived. An army was on the march from Aru, an expedition hastening from Malacca. They might have turned the war upon the Achinese, and maintained their authority in the island. As it was, the king Orfacam sought refuge with his allies in the peninsula, while the Sultan of Pedir and the Daya chief claimed hospitality from the King of Aru.[1]

Return of the Moluccas expedition.

Antonio de Britto, who had sailed for the Moluccas, now arrived at Banda. One of his countrymen, dispatched by Albuquerque's brother, was already there, and gave him information, for a while too marvellous to believe, that two Spanish ships had entered the Moluccan group through an eastern passage. Another European flag had displayed itself in the Indian Seas.[2]

Arrival of Spaniards in the Archipelago.

Magellan.

Fernando de Magellanes was a Portuguese gentleman, who distinguished his name in the wars in Africa and India. For many years he served his country with zeal and skill. When, after a long course of military labour, he applied to king Emmanuel for an addition to his salary of half a ducat a month, the gratitude of his royal master displayed itself in a rejection of his suit.[3] The brave adventurer, finding no honourable road to promotion in the service of the Portuguese sovereign, abandoned it, and travelled to Spain, where he presented himself at the court of Charles the Fifth. To that ambitious prince he unfolded a design of conquest in the East. The Moluccas, he said, by the convention of Ferdinand and Isabella with John of Portugal, were lawfully attached to the Spanish crown. He offered to

Proposal rejected by Portugal.

Goes to Charles of Spain.

[1] Marsden, 340. [2] Crawfurd, ii. 449.
[3] Antony Pigafetta, in *Harris's Collection*, i. 12.

Offer of an expedition.

conduct an expedition by a new route through the Western seas, to discover the situation of those rich islands, and obtain their treasures for Spain.

Engaged by Spain.

Charles the Fifth heard with delight the account of his territorial privileges over the famous Spice region of the Oriental ocean. Five vessels were equipped for Magellan, with two hundred and thirty-five men on board. The expedition sailed on the 16th of August, 1519. They passed Cape de Verde, laboured for many days off the coast of Guinea, were becalmed for more than two months before passing the line, and sailed along the shores of Brazil. Of that country the historian of the voyage [1] has left a singular description, infused with the exaggeration or romance so characteristic of the early travellers. Men of gigantic stature, who roared at the white men with the voices of bulls, and fled easily from the swiftest runners, with other natural wonders, are delineated in the account. They reached the straits, passed them, and Magellan's eye was gladdened by the sight of the great ocean spreading before him, and promising to open a way to the envied regions of the East. They entered the Pacific in November, 1520, after losing two ships, of which one had returned to Spain.[2]

An expedition dispatched.

A. D. 1519.

Brazil.

Patagonians.

Straits of Magellan.

Passage into the Pacific.

Entrance into the Archipelago.

The Isles of Thieves.

Entering the utmost eastern confines of the Archipelago, Magellan discovered the Ladrones, or Isles of Thieves. They have since been named the Marianas, but still deserve their original appellation, as the people of the surrounding groups stand in dread of their predatory inhabitants. On one of the Meia-co-shimah isles walls have been raised and pierced with loopholes, as a defence against these roving banditti of the sea.[3] The Ladrones lie about four hundred leagues east of the

[1] Pigafetta, in *Harris*, i. 13.

[2] Walter's Preliminary Discourse, 12. [3] Sir E. Belcher, i. 84.

Philippines. Only one of them is now tenanted, and that by a small and savage tribe. Plantations of caper trees in perpetual bloom, with groves of palms and natural orchards of delicious fruits, render them in aspect among the most enchanting spots in the Oriental seas.

Description of the Ladrones.

On the festival of St. Lazarus, Magellan discovered that group of more than forty islands[1], the most northern in the Archipelago, to which he gave the name of the saint, but which were afterwards named in honour of king Philip. Thirteen only of them are remarkable. They occupy the only part of the Archipelago liable to hurricanes, and derive many of their characteristics from this circumstance, — a soil of superior fertility, and adapted for peculiar kinds of cultivation, as well as for wheat and rice, without fragrant spices, or fruits of very delicate flavour.[2] Their appearance is singular. In many parts covered with basalt, lava-ashes, traces of volcanic eruptions, and other ruins of nature, they possess a rich alluvial soil. Beneath the surface, the internal fires of the earth are in continual activity. They are to the Philippines at once the source of their greatest danger, and the author of their fertility and beauty.[3] Their agricultural produce is abundant and varied. Cotton[4] of admirable quality, hemp, indigo, coffee, cocoa, sugar, black pepper, nutmegs, cinnamon, ginger, rice, silk, sarsaparilla, saffron, and cochineal, with moderate quantities of wheat, are produced.[5] Red-

Discovery of the Philippines.

Their general aspect.

Volcanoes.

Vegetable wealth.

[1] Walton, *Preliminary Discourse*, 67.

[2] Crawfurd, *Indian Archipelago*, i. 11.

[3] See Flora de Filippinas, Fr. Manuel Blanco, August, Col. XXXVII. 887.

[4] The importation of raw cotton into the Philippines was prohibited by Spain. Decree of the Cortes, Nov. 8. 1820.

[5] Account of the Philippines, by John Wise (Manuscript).

Ornamental woods.

veined ebony, much used in ship-building, fir trees, woods for cabinet work[1], and timber for the house-architect and for masts[2], may be obtained in unlimited abundance. Tobacco grows plentifully, though the Spaniards, in their spirit of monopoly, caused many troubles by the vain endeavour to restrict its cultivation to two districts in Luzon.

Mineral treasures.

The islands are rich in mines. Iron-ore, blended with a foreign metal, peculiarly ductile; copper, lead, quicksilver, cinnabar, and gold, with some valuable stones, have been discovered. Inferior mother-of-pearl, tortoiseshells, amber, isinglass, beeswax, trepang, edible birds' nests, and other articles, constitute materials of a trade now very extensive.[3] Pearls of a fine quality sprinkle the shallow waters near the shore; but the divers are timid, and the production of the fisheries is inconsiderable. Formerly the islands were celebrated for producing the best serpent-stones in the world — "a divine drug"[4] wrought into marketable form by the Indian artificers of Luzon.[5]

Miscellaneous productions.

Seasons.

The year is divided, in these islands, into two seasons; the wet and dry. The first enters with the south-west monsoon in June, and continues until September or October, when the north-east wind sets in, and the sky is free from clouds until the end of the European spring.[6]

Magellan enters the group.

Entering this Archipelago, Magellan steered to the coast of Batuan in Mindanao, the largest and finest island in the group. There he landed, and the first Christian rites were celebrated among the heathen inhabitants of the Philippines — a hardy, peaceful race, of

[1] Mackmicking, *Philippines*, 308.
[2] See De Comyn, 9. 30.
[3] MS. account of the Philippines.
[4] Valmont de Bomare, iv. 603.
[5] Torubiat, *Apparat pour l'Hist. Nat. d'Espagne*, i.
[6] MS. Account.

the Papuan[1] family, living in simplicity, on the fruits of their prolific soil. Thence the navigator steered through the centre of the group to Zebu, where he sprinkled holy water, and set up a cross as the symbol of his national religion. A hospitable reception welcomed him at both places. The King of Batuan invited the strangers to his palace — a wooden structure raised on lofty piles — where he entertained them in barbarian state. A banner embroidered with the figure of a cross and a crown of thorns was delivered to him, and he was instructed to set it upon a high mountain, and pray to it when storms, or war, or any other danger impended over the country. Did any chance Christian traveller light afterwards on the people of Batuan assembling to worship this symbol of a mysterious creed on the peak of some lofty hill, it must have filled his mind with wonder. Many of the credulous voyagers of those early times would doubtless have excited their imaginations with the idea of an especial revelation of truth to these lonely islanders; and priests would not have been wanting to preach the miracle in the countries round about.

The natives.

First transaction.

Reception by an island king.

Wonder of the people.

At Zebu the king was baptized with most of the nobles, professing at once conversion to the Christian religion and allegiance to the crown of Spain. A Spaniard died, and Magellan desired permission to bury him in the royal garden. The prince answered, that he and all his possessions were at the service of Magellan's sovereign, how then could he refuse a few feet of earth to cover the remains of one of that sovereign's subjects? The work of conversion was rapidly carried on. Christian names were bestowed on the chiefs, and

Baptism of the islanders.

Rapid conversions.

[1] Thomaso de Comynes attributes the original peopling of the Philippines to Malays, but it is by an obvious error, p. 7.

the people embraced a new religion, as though it had been thoroughly explained to their understandings. The medical skill of the strangers was ascribed to their faith, and there was a portentous destruction of altars and images when the brother of the king recovered under the hand of Magellan.[1] One village of heathens, it is related, refused to deny their ancient gods. Their houses were levelled to the earth, and a cross erected on the ruins. The people were inspired with awe by the appearance of their visitors, whom they believed to be endowed with celestial virtue. The pagans of the Philippines, like the Brahmins of Ceylon[2], were seduced into a new religion—*sine Christo Christiani*—and took the names of Christians, not because they saw the faith was true, but because it was preached by wealthy and powerful strangers, whom they could not but confess superior to themselves. It seemed a privilege to worship the same God with the "Sons of Heaven."

Punishment of a heathen village.

False proselytism.

Magellan however—great man though he was—possessed not entirely that circumspect and cautious prudence which guided Columbus safely through so many dangers. He discovered to the Philippine chiefs, by many indications, his design of founding a new empire, and establishing a new religion in the Eastern seas. At the same time he repressed among his companions that thirst of gold, which would have betrayed to the islanders the cupidity of the European heart. When a crown, massively wrought of the pure precious metal, with a collar of the same costly substance, was offered in exchange for a few necklaces of crystal beads, he forbade the transaction. Great quantities of

Conduct of Magellan.

Barter for gold.

[1] Pigafetta, in *Harris*, i. 16.

[2] Sir Emerson Tennent, *Christianity in Ceylon*, 64.

gold were exhibited by the natives on the persons of their women, and the decorations of their feasts. The moderation of the admiral in his inquiries for this, the great prize of the explorer, deceived many, who therefore attributed his zeal for proselytism to pure religious enthusiasm.

Challenged by a native prince.

But at the little island of Maktan, inhabited by the worshippers of the sun[1], one of the princes refused to recognise, in the envoy of Spain, the presence of a superior power. He dared Magellan to combat, and, with the chivalry characteristic of his age, the navigator accepted the challenge. Arraying sixty of his companions in armour, he attacked a vast multitude of the barbarians. By a feigned retreat, they led his troops into a morass, where, up to their necks in water, the Spaniards were overwhelmed by their treacherous enemies. Magellan, with eight or nine of his companions, perished like Decius in the marsh, and the rest dissipated the belief in their heavenly birth by a precipitate and broken flight.[2] The body of their leader could not be redeemed by any ransom; and though the discovery of the passage between Patagonia and the Land of Fire has rendered his name immortal, the world never knew whether Magellan had found a friendly hand to dig his grave.

Battle with the barbarians.

Death of Magellan.

The Spaniards were no longer venerated as visitants from heaven. The prestige of their celestial birth was gone. Their religion faded in the imagination of the islanders, and the power of Spain became less an object of terror. The chief of Zebu, trampling his oath in the dust, decoyed twenty Europeans to a banquet, feasted them, and then made them the victims of a massacre. The number of their company was now so

Disasters of the Spaniards.

[1] Pigafetta, in *Harris*, i. 16.

[2] Crawfurd, ii. 450.

much reduced, that it became necessary to burn one of the ships. The others proceeded in quest of the Moluccas.

Fall in with Borneo.

Wandering in search of this celebrated group, they fell in with the unknown land of Borneo, and visited Brunè on the north-west coast. The king is described in the old narrative as a great potentate, dwelling in a magnificent court, and surrounded continually by a vast body-guard.[1] He sent, it is said, two elephants trapped with rich silks, to bring the Spanish emissaries to his palace. None of these animals are known to exist at the present day, though probably they existed then, and may still, in the depths of the interior forests, stray in safe seclusion. From Borneo they sailed at the end of July, and fought with a fleet of "Indian junks."[2]

Presents from a Borneon king.

The Moluccas.

After many adventures they reached the Molucca group, and, sounding its channels, found a depth of three hundred feet. They were rejoiced, says the old narrator—a companion of Magellan—for this disproved the tales circulated by the jealous Portuguese, that the seas here were so shallow that no vessel could navigate them; so full of reefs, rocks, and shoals, as to be impassable and overclouded by a perpetual darkness that bewildered and terrified the bravest mariner.

Visit to Tidor.

Tidor was the first island they visited. The chief entertained them with profuse hospitality, supplied them with provisions, and secured for their ships the precious cargo they desired. If we may believe the narrative of the voyager, he claimed the Spaniards as brethren, and proclaimed that the name of his country was thenceforward not Tidor, but Castille. The ships then entered on their homeward voyage; confirming, by their

Homeward voyage.

[1] Kerr's Voyages and Travels, x. 21.

[2] Pigafetta, in *Harris*, i. 17.

rich freight, the accounts carried to Seville by the companions of Magellan. It was this expedition that laid the basis of the Spanish claim to the Philippines; and this was the first intercourse of that country with India. The honour of the discovery was not disputed, but the right of possession was denied, though the islands indisputably lay within the circle drawn by the mystic authority of the Pope, liberal as he was in the distribution of the earth among princes who already governed more people than were happy under their sway.

Disputes in Europe.

Eighteen of the company only reached Spain, under the captain, Sebastian del Cano. The other ship had taken a different route. Del Cano, therefore, being the first circumnavigator, was titled, and the heralds gave him for arms, a terrestrial globe with the motto, HIC PRIMUS GEOMETROS.[1]

Remnant of the expedition.

Twelve of Magellan's companions were left at Tidor. De Britto soon after arriving, discovered and seized them. Then, meeting with the Spanish vessel bound for Panama, which was driven back by stress of weather, he captured it, and sent the crew prisoners to Portugal. Such was the jealousy of this commercial nation. She endeavoured to drive all rivalry from the seas, not by asserting the honourable supremacy of superior vigour and skill, but by the exercise of violence and craft. At first, like the Jesuit governors of California, she dissuaded men from visiting the dearly prized territories of the New World, by accounts of their savage condition and barren soil; but when the fraud was exploded, met competition by the force of arms; so that, in the commerce of the East, every trading vessel became a ship of war.

Spanish settlement at Tidor.

Jealousy of the Portuguese.

Armed traders.

[1] Walton, *Preliminary Discourse*, 13.

Portuguese policy in the Spice group.

The subsequent proceedings of De Britto were consistent with his early acts. He sought for a convenient spot in the Spice group, where a settlement could be established. Tidor and Ternate divided his choice. The king of the first island sought the preference of the strangers, eager to receive into his territories the envoys of a powerful European state; but the

Treaty with Ternate.

queen of Ternate disputed and obtained the dangerous favour. The admiral, securing her submission, at once usurped her power, and stirred up a rebellion round her

Conflict in Tidor.

throne. At the same time he artfully excited a commotion in Tidor. Then, to subdue the spirit of his own raising, he proclaimed the reward of a piece of cloth for

Massacre of the islanders.

every Tidorean destroyed by his men. Six hundred of these prizes were speedily distributed. Maddened by the cruelty of their Christian visitors, the king and the people made war upon them, and a sanguinary conflict was carried on. The native army, inflamed by the fresh memory of terrible wrongs, of sacrilege, slaughter, and rapine perpetrated by the white strangers, furiously assaulted them. A few partial victories betrayed them

Sack of the native capital.

into a dangerous self-reliance. The Europeans attacked their capital, captured it, and left on the site a pile of ashes. This signal success stimulated their ambition, while it gratified their pride. They continued the war, without dissembling their hope of subduing the Moluccas.

Confident of this rich prize, they triumphed already, as though the wealth of India was only in future to freight the galleons of Portugal; and Lisbon, in their sanguine expectation, was alone the European port that should receive a fleet laden with the riches of the further East.

CHAPTER V.

THE successes of the Portuguese in the Spice Islands were balanced by their reverses in Sumatra, and their defeat at Bantam in Java.[1] The brilliance of occasional victories, indeed, relieved the general gloom which darkened their fortunes on the western borders of the Archipelago. Yet these failed to establish the dominion they coveted over the rich and extensive country once divided among the princes of Daya, Pedir, and Passe, but now included in the dominions of Achin. Ibrahim was spreading his arms. The ambitious monarch foresaw the growth of European conquest, and resolved that his own should rival theirs. By the catastrophe at Passe, the Portuguese had been swept for ever from Sumatra. Nor was that island the only scene of their humiliation. That expulsion was foremost in a train of disasters. Encouraged by the victory of Ibrahim, the Malays of the peninsula, led by an able chief, again descended upon their enemies, gave them battle in the river Muara, and were rejoiced by their signal overthrow.

A. D. 1522. Misfortunes in Sumatra,

and on the peninsula.

The succession of misfortunes was continuous and rapid. The King of Pahang, induced by the solicitations of self-interest to ally himself with the authority of Portugal, broke a contract now apparently useless. He united his forces with the army of Ahmed, successor to Mohammed of Johore, and raised the signal for a

[1] Osorio, ii. 346.

general massacre of the European settlers in his territory. The example set by the martial independence of the Malays excited imitation in Java. The people rose, and slew all the inhabitants of the factories on their coast. At Malacca adversities thickened. The city, invested by land and sea, cut off from supplies, and imminent on the verge of a hopeless famine, sank to the last depth of distress. The Malay general, animated by the hope of freeing the peninsula from its invaders, and restoring the independence of his nation, was inspired also by the honourable desire to create for himself an illustrious name by the overthrow of the formidable Europeans. Their vessels of war had disappeared from the straits. The barbarian, at once general and admiral, seized a merchant ship, and infuriated the garrison of Malacca by casting it adrift in flames under their eyes. Two armed vessels came out to attack his squadron, but remained trophies in his hands. The situation of the town was critical. An allied fleet, powerfully equipped, blockaded it by sea; a vast army, led by a renegade Portuguese, laid siege to it by land. Enemies increased, and the resources of defence sank low. The day seemed to approach when the European flag in those seas should be prostrated by an irretrievable disaster.

Siege of Malacca.

Fortune, however, has followed that flag in the East. In the last moment of hope, Alphonso de Sousa, with a squadron, anchored in the roads. Malacca was relieved. The barbarians, driven into the river Muara, were there blockaded. Vessels then sailed to Pahang, and inflicted a severe retribution on the people. All the merchant ships in the harbour, with many trading craft from Java among them, were destroyed. Six thousand persons fell during the massacre. The multitude of captives taken was so considerable that each

Reprisals.

Portuguese returned from the expedition with six slaves at his command. The Portuguese then sailed to Patani, where other ravages were committed. The town was shattered into ruins, and left a memorial of their revenge. There was, in the conduct of war, little contrast between the savage sovereigns of the Archipelago and their civilised visitors from Christendom.

The chiefs of the Indian tribes, when they retaliated on their foreign aggressors, learned soon that success was staked as a doubtful hazard, and that misfortune brought not only disgrace, but ruin on their thrones. The King of Bintan at length received this lesson to his cost. When the Portuguese had accomplished their other errands of revenge, they prepared, with a fleet of twenty-one ships, manned by 400 of their countrymen and 600 mercenary Malays, to punish him for his share in the recent humiliation of their flag. On their way they encountered the naval force of the intrepid Laksimana. Animated by a courage which no disaster could subdue, the chief boarded a vessel and prepared to tow her away in triumph. The crew rallied and prevented his design. The Malay admiral then fell back upon the capital of his Bintanese ally, guarded the entrenchments, lined the approaches with armed men, and opposed a desperate front to the Portuguese. On their side, the King of Lingen, personally hostile to the besieged prince, brought a willing auxiliary.

A.D. 1526.

Action at sea.

Aided by their allies, the Portuguese attacked the town, broke through the ranks of its defenders, and swept the streets to the centre. The Laksimana, congregating his troops there, revived their courage, rallied them to the battle, and turned the onset against the invaders. The native army, renewed in zeal, followed the movements of the enemy, and fought along the lines, with the bravery of men attached by all the

Conflicts with the Malays.

ties of life to the citadel of their independence. But European discipline prevailed. Bintan was captured, pillaged, and levelled with the earth. Ahmed then fled to the mainland, and there, entrenching himself behind nature's own fortification of rocks and hills, enjoyed freedom without power. The Portuguese vindicated their self-assumed authority. Their victory was some solace for the losses and disgraces of the last three years; but their monopoly of European influence was gone. While they restored the fabric of their dominion on the Peninsula, another nation continued to labour at the creation of an empire in the Archipelago.

Spain, at more than one period of her history, has been enriched by mines of precious metals. Her prosperity has never been founded on the solid basis of industrial vigour, but on the hollow though splendid attractions offered by an auriferous soil, or cities stored with the spoils of chrysorhean rivers in the New World. Herself, in antiquity a golden Chersonese, she supplied Europe with silver[1], and her wealth is celebrated by the prophetic poets of Scripture[2], whose allusions have been laboriously illustrated in our own day.[3] But she now sought no longer in her own rich soil the costly metals for which she prized her American empire. The companions of Magellan brought to Seville, and thence diffused through the country, relations of the wonders of nature displayed to them in the remotest regions of the New World. They painted in tempting colours the opulence and beauty of the Oriental Isles, enriched with every precious possession, and glowing in the purple splendour of the East. Spain was dazzled by tales of spices, gems, gold, Indian silks, gums, ivory,

Rumours of the Islands in Europe.

[1] Strabo, 216—219. [2] Ezekiel, xxvii. 12.
[3] Heeren's *Historical Researches*, A. N. i. 330.

amber, and aromatic oils, said to be profuse in those fertile and fragrant islands, long since reported to Europe by the narrative of Marco Polo.[1] An expedition was launched to settle a commercial state in the Moluccas. A squadron sailed under the command of Father Loyosa, who died and was succeeded by Del Cano, who also died, and Martin Yanez, a Biscayan navigator, undertook the conduct of the adventure. One vessel was lost in the Atlantic Ocean. On the last day of the year 1526 they reached Tidor, with a company much diminished by disease.

New adventures in the Moluccas.

A. D. 1526.

The king and the people of the island were then resisting the attacks of the Portuguese inflicted on them to revenge their hospitable reception of the Spaniards. The new comers joined the native prince, fought their rivals, were defeated and compelled to retreat within a fortified camp. There the enterprise was extinguished. The Portuguese held them in siege for two years, when three vessels from New Spain arrived to their succour. Twice the joyful adventurers commenced their homeward voyage. Twice they were driven back by violent storms. At length, without means of escape, without numbers or energy for self-defence, they relinquished the struggle, laid down their arms, and submitted to the sovereignty of Lisbon. Their enemies triumphed as though the spirit of rivalry had been for ever quenched; but the possession of a dominion in the Indian Islands was too rich a prize to be abandoned after two efforts had failed.[2]

The Portuguese at the Spice Isles.

Rival expedition.

Still the authority of Portugal was, so far, paramount among the Moluccas. Her reign over them was actually commenced. To pause therefore for a

Success of the Portuguese.

[1] *Travels* of Marco Polo. Notes by Marsden.

[2] Walton, *Preliminary Discourse* 15.

general survey of the group is a natural digression. From the period when the Spanish flag was first displayed among the Spice Islands, they claim our particular attention. The charm of romance is upon them. They have been celebrated as the possessors of a fatal gift. In the earliest times, before the Arabian voyagers navigated the Archipelago, rumours of the wealthy Moluccas were circulated through Europe. The fancy of the poet depicted in dazzling colours the rich islands:— "The unfortunate proprietors of aromaticks and perfumes,"[1] which in the fabled beauty of their aspect, and the resources of their soil, appeared to excel every other region of the earth. They had all to attract, and nothing to repel, an invader. The courts of Europe, plunged in indolence, lust, and luxury, favoured with their patronage the merchant who brought from the East spices to regale their senses, satiated with common delicacies. The Moluccas were cursed with wealth. As the barbarians of ancient Germany were allured into Italy and Gaul by the celebrity of their wines[2], so the adventurers of Christendom were attracted to those remote islands by the nutmegs and cloves so highly prized among the epicures of Europe. It is well for the weak to be poor, or they are victims to the rapacity of the strong. The natives of the Spice Islands, however, could not, like the peasants of Egypt and India, conceal their riches, and instead of remaining undiscovered, their wealth, extraordinary as it is, was exaggerated by the imaginative travellers of the early ages.

Fatal beauty of the Moluccas.

Their still more fatal wealth.

The ancients probably possessed no actual knowledge of these islands, since little can be inferred from the story repeated by the Bishop of Avranches of spices

Ancient intercourse with the Spice group.

[1] Volney, *Ruins of Empires*, 23.

[2] Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, i. 358.

brought to the banks of the Nile by Egyptian traders under the guidance of an Indian pilot, who had been driven to the shores of Arabia in a storm.[1] Endeavours are made to fix into certainty conjectures based on doubtful phrases and ambiguous terms; but no historical proof exists that a link of intercourse was laid down even between India and the Moluccas until ninety-three years after the commencement of the Christian era.[2] In the curious record of the commerce of the Red Sea, elucidated by an able commentator[3], there is no allusion to spices; but in the reign of Commodus, towards the close of the second century, cloves and nutmegs appear in the list of commodities imported into Alexandria[4]; and from that period forward they constantly occur as the most prized commodities of India.

Consumption of spices in antiquity.

The productions of the Moluccas were, at first, conveyed to Europe through many stages, by land and sea. It is probable that the Arabs, before the appearance of their Prophet, never reached the Spice Islands, since there is no relic of a pagan Arab population. The merchants of the East, however, early discovered the value of the nutmeg and the clove, and defied the accumulated dangers which then attended all maritime adventures.[5] We find in the annals of the Moluccas that their fragrant products were sought by the Javanese in 1332.[6] Adventurers from the great island arrived, to form settlements, at the time of the Muslim invasion, when they brought with them the seeds of the new faith. The trade was opened by the Malays, the Javanese, and the Bugis,

Ancient commercial routes.

Growing taste for spices.

Indian traders.

[1] Huet's *History of Commerce*, 57.
[2] Crawfurd, *History of the Indian Archipelago*, iii 187.
[3] Vincent, *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea.*
[4] Crawfurd, *History of the Indian Archipelago*, iii. 188.
[5] Vincent's *Periplus*, i. 1. [6] Crawfurd, iii. 140.

forming the first link in the extended chain that drew the spices of these islands as far as the capital of the Roman empire. They were conveyed to Achin or Malacca, and carried westward by trader after trader, until, at length, they perfumed the tables of the Italian epicure, who knew not whence the richly flavoured commodity was procured.[1] At the close of the thirteenth century the spice trade was active in the Archipelago.[2] It is said, even, that the Venetians actually penetrated to the further East, and that a galleon belonging to that nation was seen bound for China with merchandize, and steering through an ocean crowded by fleets of Indian traders.[3] The earliest mention of a commerce with the Celestial Empire occurs in 1465, when junks arrived at Temate to purchase cloves. The Chinese themselves, however, date their communication with the Spice Islands at a period far more remote, and it appears true that they navigated the narrow seas of this rich group long before, though they settled nowhere in any numbers until the establishment of European power secured their safety.[4]

Fondness for spices in Europe.

Venetian travels.

Chinese merchants.

Their settlement.

The Portuguese themselves had settled for a considerable period in Malacca, and had been thirteen years in India before they reached the Moluccas.[5] This, however, was not so much through indifference as through the dangers and perplexities which then beset their position in the East. The valuable productions of that celebrated group formed, as it were, the polar star of enterprise. A rage for spices sprung up in Europe, and continued, through the century, to furnish

Desire of the Portuguese to trade in spices.

[1] Crawfurd, *History of the Indian Archipelago*, iii. 212.
[2] Marco Polo, *De Reb. Orient.*, iii. 199.
[3] Huet's *History of Commerce*, 173.
[4] Crawfurd, *History of the Indian Archipelago*, iii. 155.
[5] Ibid. ii. 488.

an object for the satirical effusions of the day.[1] The natural flavour of all that is esteemed as delicate or rich was drowned in powerful and pungent spicery, and the tables of the opulent, like the funeral pyres of antiquity, smoked with clouds of fragrance, from hot and perfumed dishes.[2] The cloves, the pepper, and the nutmegs of the East, were indeed, in that age, the principal if not the only object of mercantile adventure[3]; an artificial value was conferred on these articles of luxury, and the commodities which the companions of Magellan bought at the rate of nearly six hundred pounds for ten yards of good scarlet cloth, worth seven pounds[4], sold in England at three thousand per cent. above their original price.[5]

Rage for that commodity.

Artificial value.

The name Molucca has by some been assigned to the whole family of islands which stud the sea, between Celebes on the west, the Arru group on the east, Morty on the north, and Timor southward. In another view they are described as forming one group, with the Philippines included, and their division is accounted for, not by geographical, but by political reasons, as the possessions respectively of the Spaniards and the Dutch.[6] But the natural limits of the Philippines are distinctly marked. It might, nevertheless, be more philosophical to allow the term a more comprehensive signification, and include within the present sketch all the territories subject to the jurisdiction of the Molucca government; but for the convenience of the narrative we may accept the general application of the name to "Amboyna, Banda, Ternate, Tidor, and

Ancient accounts of the Moluccas.

[1] Dryden. [2] See Homes's *Sketches of Man*, ii. 141.
[3] Dubois de Jancigny.—Xavier Raymond, *L'Inde Pittoresque.*
[4] Adam Smith, *Wealth of Nations.*
[5] Crawfurd, *History of the Indian Archipelago*, iii. 384.
[6] Sonnerat, *Voyages aux Indes*, ii. 104.

the smaller neighbouring islands," indicated by the Dutch writer.[1] Otherwise the plan of this history would be altered, and the relation dropped while we wandered over the extensive countries of Gilolo, Ceram, Buru, and the three hundred isles [2], with others yet uncounted, that lie beyond the proper Spice group. They will be introduced as the narrative proceeds, but it is with the Spice Islands, strictly so called, that our occupation now is.

Geography of the group.

General view.

They are small islands, situated in the expanse of sea, rolling eastward from Celebes to the shores of New Guinea, and within the latitude of 132. In aspect they are generally similar. The lands near the coast are low, or gently varied by hills, covered at intervals with woods, watered by an abundance of streams, and backed by mountains that stand towering in the centre, clothed from base to peak in a mantle of living green.

Their surface.

Some of them present landscapes resembling the high plateaus of Mexico represented in miniature, with verdant levels, encircled by graceful margins, long slopes sweeping down from the heights to the brim of the sea, broad swells of verdure rolling towards the interior, and an assemblage of hillocks that seemed piled in confusion upon each other; but all with their outlines sharply defined in the clear light of the East, and glittering with brilliant vegetation.[3] The rarest productions of the earth are natives of the Moluccas. The nutmeg, that reaches on the average a height of from twenty to thirty feet in the Straits' settlements, which are the limits of its diffusion westward [4], here attains fifty, flourishing in

Their nutmeg-tree.

[1] Hogendorp, *Coup d'Œil sur l'Isle de Java.*

[2] Temminck, *Possessions Neerlandaises dans l'Inde Archipelagique*, iii. 300.

[3] Ibid. 234.

[4] Oxley, *Treatise on the Cultivation of the Nutmeg.*

groves of unrivalled beauty, while many others thrive which elsewhere are only found as sickly exotics, mocking the care bestowed on them by the dilettanti of botanical science.

Situation and extent.

The Moluccas, properly so called, form two groups, composed of numerous islands assigned by geography to the fourth and fifth ranks, though in history they occupy, from their commercial and political importance, a place equally prominent with Java and Sumatra. Of them, as of the Philippines, it is to be observed, that their origin is volcanic, and that to the action of subterranean fires, eternally in commotion to raise archipelagos into continents, and rend continents into archipelagos, they owe their beauty, their fertility, and their chief natural dangers. Every where, on their surface, remain traces of the volcano's work, which continually changes their aspect, as the tremblings of the earth cleave hills, and fill up cavities, once characteristic features in a bird's-eye view of the group.[1] The numerous craters in action form probably, as a traveller long ago suggested[2], the issues of one mighty volcano lying below the whole of the Molucca sea.

Volcanic origin.

Traces of eruptions.

Amboyna.

Although Ternate was in ancient times the capital of the Spice Group[3], Amboyna, or the Isle of Dew, is politically the chief, and has always been valued by the Dutch, among the most important of their possessions, the crown and key of the Moluccas.[4] It belongs in size to the fifth rank, although it has been assigned to the fourth[5];

[1] Temminck, *Coup d'Œil sur les Possessions Neerlandaises*, iii. 290.

[2] Sonnerat, *Voyages aux Indes*, ii. 122.

[3] Argensilas, *History of the Moluccas.*

[4] Temminck, *Possessions Neerlandaises dans l'Inde Archipelagique*, iii. 219.

[5] Temminck, *Coup d'Œil*, iii. 219.

for if we accord to Timor, Floris, and Ceram, that degree[1], Amboyna, which is not a tenth of their size, takes a place below them. It is better peopled than any other in the group, and takes its name from that of the capital Ambon, the native appellation being Hiton, properly applied only to the north-eastern division, to which the south-eastern or Leitomor of the Malays is attached by a neck of land not more than half a league wide.[2] This deep indenture affords two safe, well sheltered, and spacious bays, with anchorage for large vessels. The area of the island is calculated at little more than thirteen geographical leagues, its population at nearly fifty thousand.[3] Viewed from the sea Amboyna presents its elevated surface to the eye, diversified by many varieties of outline. It rises from the sea towards the centre, with a gradual but broken slope dipping into valleys, throwing up clusters of hills, or gently expanding into confined plateaus. Some of the eminences are gracefully rounded and completely wrapped in vegetation; near them are mountains girt at the base by a belt of woods, and lifting their bald peaks to a moderate height; others are wholly covered with bushes. The broad valleys near the sea present a rich verdure, charming in its beauty and abundance. The writer of a sober description fears to be confounded with the romancer when repeating the accounts afforded by Dutch and English voyagers of the Spice Islands. The air, according to the grave advocate of Netherland's policy[4], is literally loaded with the soft odour of aromatic plants

Its political importance.

Harbour.

Area.

Form.

Fragrant atmosphere.

[1] Crawfurd, *History of Indian Archipelago*, i. 3.

[2] Hogendorp, *Coup d'Œil sur Java.*

[3] Temminck, *Possessions Neerlandaises dans l'Inde Archipelagique*, iii. 220.

[4] Ibid. iii. 233.

and flowers, sown in profusion over plains, shaded by forests of the cocoa and sago palm. The prospect is brilliant and enchanting, especially when the eye, after resting on tawny flats of sand, seeks the contrast of these crowded assemblages of hills and valleys fantastically grouped, and adorned with exuberant verdure, perplexing by its changing outline, and dazzling with its show of mingled tints. Picturesque prospect.

There is one famous sketch of such a landscape from the pen of a traveller who, with his pencil, has justified the florid colours of his description.[1] They are of ravishing beauty, we are told by this enthusiastic voyager. You may wander over plains, surrounded by the slopes of verdant hills, divided by sweeps of grass-land or natural pastures sprinkled thickly with flowers, effusing a powerful fragrance, that hangs in the air, too heavy to be dissipated. Amid an infinite profusion of blossoming plants are distinguished by their lustre and grace, the *Hibiscus Rosa sinensis* adorned with elevated clusters of berries and bright purple petals, another with tapering coronal of crimson flowers, others with blossoms of a delicate green, flourishing in the form of trees, whose branches, gently bending towards the sun, afford an umbrageous dome of foliage. The traveller indulges in a rapturous apostrophe to the spirit of pleasure: How delicious to enjoy a moment of repose on the border of the River of Elephants, where, under the influence of a genial sky, perpetually serene, shaded by lofty trees, and listening to the trembling leaves of the palm, a Sybarite might rest and watch the clusters of tufted branches gracefully swaying in the wind! Every sense may feed on the beauty of the scene, Dutch description of the island. Scenery. Flowers. Trees.

[1] Ver Huell, *Travels in the East Indies*, Dutch, qu. Temminck, iii. 234.

—the eye on the landscape, the ear on the harmony of nature, while perfumes float around from the orange groves, from the Sandal Malam, or Lover of the Night, and from an infinite variety of aromatic trees and shrubs, which enrich this favoured island. All that poetry can imagine is realised here; the ideal is exceeded, and the traveller may believe himself transported to the gardens of Armidea in the Tempean Vale.[1]

Perfumes.

Truth of the picture.

The glow of fancy, breathed in poetical language, suffuses this picture, but its truth is accepted by a grave authority[2]; though sober historians, dilating on a favourite topic, occasionally enlarge their recollections, and exaggerate in the effort to be exact. Travellers in the mighty island of Australia describe its *vast* plains, and a traveller in Amboyna employs the same epithet[3], which appears misapplied to an isle no larger than Jersey; but for the beauty of the scenes we have other authority, and the views by the pencil of the writer we have quoted[4] delineate landscapes equal to the richest displays of nature in Southern Europe.[5]

Exaggeration of travellers.

Capacities for productions.

In some parts Amboyna is barren; in others, where the surface is arid and rocky, the clove has its favourite habitation. In others a soil of great fertility prevails, though these are not extensive; but on them and the mountain slopes a vegetation rich as that of Java flourishes wild.[6]

Nutmeg.

The nutmeg, produced in perfection nowhere in the world out of this, the third division of the Indian Archipelago[7], is found; but it is for the clove that

[1] Ver Huell, *Reisen in der Oost Indien*, qu. Temminck, iii. 234.
[2] Temminck, *Coup d'Œil*, iii. 235.
[3] Hogendorp, *Coup d'Œil sur Java*. [4] Ver Huell.
[5] Temminck, *Coup d'Œil*, iii. 235.
[6] Temminck, Hogendorp, iii. 235.
[7] Crawfurd, *History of the Indian Archipelago*, i. 3.

the island is celebrated; and that rich possession has been to it a curse, as the gold of Mexico and Peru was to the original tenants of those countries. It has brought upon the people cruel and selfish masters, who have drenched the soil in blood that the natives might be forced to lend their labour to the service of Dutch monopoly — a monopoly, however, first claimed by the Portuguese.[1] About three hundred thousand pounds are annually produced.[2] The culture and collection of the spice employs almost all the population, and exhibits a curious social picture, from the planting of the young trees to the drying and packing rooms, in which, according to a credulous and quaint cosmographer of the sixteenth century, a pail of water would dry up in two days, from the excessive heat of the cloves.[3] There are, in addition to this natural treasure, numerous costly woods affording fragrant essences and oils with medicinal virtues, besides exquisite woods for cabinet work, from which slabs for tables six or seven feet in diameter are frequently obtained[4], though inferior in beauty to the woods of Ceram. Coffee and indigo, with cotton and pepper[5], succeed well, though their cultivation is miserably neglected.[6] Cinnamon is abundant, but of a poor quality, for it does not yield an oil rich, sweet, and fragrant like that of Ceylon[7], whence the tree was transplanted to Java, while the Cassia lignea[8], its rival for the epicure's favour, is distributed throughout

Its influence on the group.

Culture of the nutmeg.

Old tales.

Other productions.

Cinnamon.

[1] Fr. Pirard, *Voyages aux Indes.*
[2] Hogendorp, *Coup d'Œil sur Java.*
[3] Heylyn, *Cosmography*, 918.
[4] Hogendorp, *Coup d'Œil sur Java.*
[5] Crawfurd, *Hist. Indian Archipelago*, i. 485.
[6] Temminck, *Possessions Neerlandaises*, iii. 227.
[7] Ibid. 228.
[8] See Dioscorides, *Mat. Med.*, l. i. c. 62. i. 13.

Its native country.

the Archipelago, Southern India, and Southern China.[1] It is perhaps impossible to discover the original and native country of cinnamon, though the Taprobane of the ancients appears to declare itself as such. The spice, *Canella zeillanica*, found its way into Greece through Arabia, and a singular account respecting it was afforded to strangers by the imaginative traders of the Republic. The trees producing the bark grew, it was said, in a valley swarming with serpents; and for protection against these reptiles, those who came to gather cinnamon enveloped their hands and feet in boots and gloves.[2] A third of the spice collected was piled on the sand, as tribute to the sun, and the Arabs, departing to a certain distance, usually turned round and saw the heap in flames, sending up a cloud of fragrant smoke to the God who had kindled the sacrifice.[3] Elsewhere we learn that it was bought by the Arabian merchants, who knew not whence it came, except that it grew in some part of the East.[4] To the Persians it is known as Dar Sin, or Chinese wood, which its name is said to imply[5], though this may apply to the Cassia lignea, already mentioned as a product of that country.[6] However this may be, whether as an indigenous or naturalised tree, the cinnamon flourishes in the Moluccas, and especially in Amboyna.

Ancient uses of this spice.

Poverty of Amboyna in the necessaries of life.

Yet these islands, so rich in the luxuries, yield few among the ordinary necessaries of life, a fact observed by the earliest writers.[7] The surface of Amboyna pre-

[1] Pridham, *Ceylon and its Dependencies.*
[2] Dioscor. i. 12.; Hazelquist, *Travels*, 247.
[3] St. John, *Manners and Customs of Ancient Greece*, iii. 401.
[4] Theoph. *Hist. Plant.* ix. 5. 2.
[5] Valmont de Baumare, *Hist. Nat.* i. 568.
[6] Rochon, *Memoir on the Chinese Trade; Voyage*, 457.
[7] Heylyn, *Cosmography*, 918.

sents few extensive fields for agriculture, and the policy of the Dutch, influencing the spirit of the people as well as reducing their numbers [1], diverted their industry from the legitimate cultivation of the soil to exhaust it in the clove plantations.[2] They were the slaves of monopoly, though there are writers who attribute the poverty of the islands to the natural indolence of the people, observable especially among the Christian converts.[3] It has also, however, been shrewdly suggested that the Dutch in their diplomatic craft encouraged the neglect of this branch of industry, that the people might depend on them for support, and serve them more sedulously on that account.[4] Nothing is more probable, for the colonial policy of that age was marked by many such features. The Spaniards in America coerced the rebellious tribes and subdued them to humility by their power over the sources of food [5], and from the character of the Netherland's system we may easily imagine it acting through a similar medium. Whatever has been the cause, however, it is certain that a cultivated spot is as seldom met with in this little island as a waste tract in all the wide extent of Java.[6] This was true, however, even before the Europeans settled there, and has been accounted for by the rough and barren nature of the country [7], though it was justly remarked that this must have been with reference to some kinds of grain, as otherwise it is very productive.[8] Rice and the sugar cane are enumerated,

Policy of the Dutch.

Neglect of industry encouraged.

Parallel with Spanish policy.

Waste aspect of Amboyna.

[1] Adam Smith, *Wealth of Nations.*
[2] See Earl, *Trading Ports, Journ. Ind. Arch.* iv. 987.
[3] Hogendorp, *Coup d'Œil sur Java*, 321.
[4] Crawfurd, *Hist. Indian Archipelago.*
[5] Washington Irving, *Life and Voyages of Columbus*, ii. 283.
[6] Temminck, *Possessions Neerlandaises*, iii. 226.
[7] Maguiris. [8] Heylyn, *Cosmography*, 918.

Reasons assigned.

by the old geographer, among the fruits of the earth, and it is suggested that the heat of the cloves, absorbing all the moisture, dried up the soil and rendered it unfit for many kinds of tillage. The views of a later writer are differently coloured, and a strong contrast is drawn between the Moluccas and the Philippines; the former described as flourishing under the high culture carried on by the Dutch, whereas their principal wealth is spontaneous, and the latter languishing under the nerveless policy of the Spaniards.[1] Certain it is, at all events, that the rice grown in Amboyna falls short of its necessities, leaving large quantities to be exported from the Southern provinces of Celebes[2], with an annual supply from Java[3], as well as from Bengal.[4]

Supplies of food.

Rice.

The yam.

The yam cultivated in the Indian Islands[5] is probably indigenous there, and forms an article of food among the Amboynese[6]; but the sweet potato was probably introduced by Europeans, and is known to them as the Castilian yam.[7] The arrow-root is produced, and used as food, with other materials of which the people themselves alone make any account. But nature never leaves men without the means of life; and they are equally well provided on the snowy coasts of the polar land, as on the naked and desolate tracts in the depths of Australasia. There Providence has supplied grain-bearing grasses[8] and nutritious roots; and in the Moluccas, the great staff of life, spontaneously abundant, which

Bounty of Providence to these islands.

Grasses of Australia.

[1] Sonnerat, *Voyages aux Indes*, ii. 104.
[2] Temminck, *Possessions Neerlandaises*, iii. 227.
[3] Hogendorp, *Coup d'Œil sur Java.*
[4] Raffles, *History of Java*, i. 239.
[5] Crawfurd, *History of the Indian Archipelago*, i. 371.
[6] Rumphius, *Natural History of Amboyna*, v. 347.
[7] Crawfurd, i. 372.
[8] Sturt, *Expedition into Central Australia*, i. 135., ii. 140.

makes up for the deficiency of rice or corn is the sago, or Papua bread, as it is sometimes called by the Javans.[1] Few require to learn that this is the medullary pith of a palm, which, excepting the Nipa, is the humblest of its tribe. That of the Spice Islands is the most plentiful but least esteemed; that of Siak on the north coast of Sumatra being the best, and that of Borneo second in estimation.[2] It furnishes the principal food of the people[3], its delicate flour being baked into cakes. Here is its native country, between Borneo, on the one side, and New Guinea on the other; Mindoro on the north, and Timor on the south; and though it is naturalised in other islands of the Archipelago, is never found beyond its limits.[4] The process of extraction is simple but curious, and differs among many of the islands, as that of Mindoro from that of the Moluccas.[5] So also does the size of the cakes; those of Amboyna being four inches broad, and six long; while those of Ceram are much larger. The people live habitually on this nutritious substance, given by the omnipotent Creator, as the natural historian of Amboyna expresses it[6], instead of other grain whence to make bread; and little, indeed, may we wonder at the neglect of agriculture among an ignorant people, when the labour of five men felling the sago palms, extracting the farina, and preparing the cakes, will maintain a hundred.[7] The mass of medulla extracted is immense; 600 pounds is not unusually afforded by a single tree,

Sago.

Various qualities.

Its consumption.

Geographical distribution.

Process of preparation.

Abundance of this farina.

[1] Forrest's *Voyage to New Guinea*, 42.
[2] Crawfurd, *Hist. Indian Archipelago*, i. 386.
[3] Hogendorp, *Coup d'Œil sur Java.*
[4] Crawfurd, *Hist. Indian Archipelago*, i. 386.
[5] Dampier, *Voyages*, i. 310, 311.
[6] Rumphius, *Nat. Hist. Amboinensis*, i. 80.
[7] Forrest, *Voyage to New Guinea*, 42.

Other resources for food. Mushrooms.

while the refuse, after the bread is made, is thrown in heaps to putrify.[1] Thence a delicate edible mushroom springs up, and in the piles, as well as in the decaying wood, are generated worms of a white colour, held in great estimation among the epicureans of the Molucca islands. Certain wood worms were in the same manner prized by the ancient Romans; and the taste of the Amboynese has been shared by Europeans[2], after a struggle with prejudices, which are, indeed, mere matters of custom.

Worms.

Articles of native manufacture and commerce.

From the Gomuti, the Amboynese were wont, in their wars with the Dutch, to extract a liquor of corrosive quality, used in the defence of forts, and expressively named by the Hollanders Hell-Water.[3] Similar practices prevailed in Sulu, where the springs were thus poisoned, while English and French ships were watering.[4] An intoxicating drink is afforded by this palm. The betel nut is also produced, with leaves of a peculiar flavour[5]; tobacco, the wild banana[6], the bread fruit, and others of exquisite fragrance. The materials of food and luxury within reach of the people, are thus abundant and varied; but they scarcely ever employ to flavour them their envied spices,—for cloves, nutmegs, and pepper are consumed almost in all parts of the world, but those in which they are produced. Many plants, yielding filacious barks, fit to be spun into cordage, abound, with rattans and palms. Of timber, teak was introduced by Rumphuis, in 1676[7], from Madeira, while, native to the soil, grows the enormous

[1] See the best account of sago in *Journ. Ind. Arch.* iii. 228.
[2] Crawfurd, *Hist. Indian Archipelago*, i. 393.
[3] Ibid. 398.
[4] Belcher, *Voyage of the Samarang*, i. 261.
[5] Rumphius, *Nat. Hist. Amboinensis*, v. 338.
[6] Crawfurd, *Hist. Ind. Arch.* i. 413.
[7] Ibid. 450.

Lingoa tree, used in house-building, rural economy, and naval architecture, and producing fragrant blossoms, highly prized by the islanders.[1] Fancy woods, and woods exuding gums and dyes, exist in profusion; but remain incompletely known. The cardamum was introduced in 1670, and thrives well, though inferior to that of Malabar. Ginger is also found with other articles, too infinite in their variety, and too little important for their present commercial value, to be enumerated. Of the animal kingdom there is little variety, for the poverty that in this respect afflicts Australia, extends here. While in Java there are eighty-five of the mammiferous order, there are here but thirty; and not a single quadruman. The people draw occasional subsistence from the flesh of wild deer, and that of the hog —an animal which, as the learned historian has remarked, seems to share with man the privilege of thriving in almost all countries, from the equator to the poles.[2] Birds, however, swarm in the forests, displaying in their plumage all the rich hues of nature— purple, bright blue, gold, green, and gaudy crimson. To China, the people of the Spice Islands send the edible nests of the sea-swallow, with their cargoes of trepang, shark's fins, and small parcels of gold.[3]

Animals.

Birds.

They supply that luxurious country also with birds of paradise, named by the Indians birds of Ternate[4]; by the Ternatians, birds of God[5]; by the Dutch, king's birds[6]; and by the Spaniards, birds of the sun.[7] These

Birds of Paradise — their various names.

[1] Crawfurd, *Hist. Ind. Arch.* i. 452.

[2] Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, note.

[3] They have some galeopitheci. Lesson, *Hist. Nat.* iv. 413.

[4] Valmont de Bomare, *Histoire Naturelle*, iv. 296.

[5] Valentyn, *Indian Archipelago*, iii. 306—313.

[6] Forrest's *Voyage to New Guinea*, 142.

[7] Aldrovandus, Valmont de Bomare, iv. 297. The name Manucodiata, or Bird of God, has been adopted in modifications by

Indian fables concerning them.

—the great Promeropes[1]—the most beautiful of winged creatures, were fabled also by the fancy of the Arabian poet, as visitants from heaven to earth; and among the islanders, it is believed that when old, and feeling the approach of death, they fly upward towards the sun; but having spent their strength in the inferior world, fail to reach again their celestial home, fall and die as they descend—a graceful fancy not forgotten by the moralist or the poet.[2] No representation can exaggerate their beauty, or excel the lustre of their plumage. They fly always against the wind, and were supposed footless, and incapable of alighting, until it was discovered that the Indians cut off their feet before preserving them. They are caught in New Guinea, to which only are they native[3], with a species of bird-lime. In the nutmeg season also they come from their breeding grounds in the interior of that vast island, and sail in flocks of thirty or forty over the eastern borders of the Archipelago. An intoxicating fragrance, rising in clouds from the spice groves, is said to overpower them as they fly, when they drop to the earth, and are caught for the sake of the dazzling plumage which seems not only to reflect but to retain the radiance of the sun. Whatever the habits of these birds, they form valuable articles of export. Europe is supplied chiefly from Batavia, China from the Molucca and Arru isles, while the natives of that remote group, with many of the Malays, adorn their casques at martial pageants with feathers plucked from their glittering wings.[4]

Poetical fancy.

Their flight.

Method of catching them.

Trade in the feathers.

several naturalists. Margrav. *Brasil.* 207.; Rai, *Syn. Av.* 21—27.; Briss. 2. 130. See Buffon, *Hist. Nat. des Ois.* iii. 207.

[1] Pritchard, *Researches*, i. 83. [2] See Camoens, *Lusiad*, book x.

[3] Crawfurd, *Journ. Ind. Arch.* iv. 182.

[4] Valentyn, qu. Forrest, *Voyage to New Guinea*, 142.

The Amboynese are of the middle size, well made and suited by their moral and physical characteristics for military duties. Their martial spirit is finer than that of the other Moluccan races, which, it may be, prevented their earlier subjugation. They are good-tempered, though impetuous; easily appeased, though quarrelsome, and generally very sober. Rarely does an Amboynese commit a capital crime. Occasional thefts occur, but the principal offences are venial, and the criminal calendar of the island is chiefly filled with the names of strangers. Such is the view of them which is supported by the long experience and most finished judgment.[1] Other impressions of them exist, especially among older travellers. They have been described as a bloody, vindictive race, whose enslavement is fortunate.[2] It is related, and the account is accepted by writers often judicious, that they formed one of the most ferocious sections of the Malay nation, implacable enemies of the Dutch, who never showed mercy to any of that race; but keeping each prisoner five days without food, ripped up his bowels, tore out his heart, cut off his head, and preserved it in spice as a trophy.[3] The Spaniards, it is said, were respected by them as gentlemen, the Dutch despised for their sordid dealings.[4] We can scarcely, however, imagine the primitive character of a people that has suffered so much from its civilized conquerors, and can judge only of the impressions they make on observers at the present day, who generally admit their estimable qualities.[5] Though retaining many of the ideas and customs they

The Amboynese.

Character.

[1] Hogendorp, *Coup d'Œil sur Java.*
[2] Adams, *Travels in the East.* [3] Home's *Sketches of Man*, i. 365.
[4] Heylyn, *Cosmography*, 920.
[5] Temminck, *Possessions Neerlandaises*, iii. 229.

Progress in the useful arts.

originally possessed, they have also abandoned many, especially those characteristic of simplicity. When voyagers in the early ages of maritime adventure visited those islands, they found the people of Amboyna making use of a hollow bamboo to boil their food in [1], as the Siamese use cocoa-nut shells[2], and the Ostyaks vessels of bark [3], the contents cooling while the vessel burned; one of the earliest modes adopted by mankind [4], though still superior to that of some tribes of Australia, ignorant altogether of the effect of fire upon water. [5] Recently, intercourse with more instructed communities has taught them to despise the rude utensil supplied by nature, and they use iron pans from China. [6]

Primal habits of man.

Banda.

Next in importance in the Molucca family is the Banda, or chief nutmeg group, which lies south-east of Amboyna, alone in the sea. Described in the accounts of the early voyagers as a paradise of beauty [7], its attractive landscapes are, indeed, alluring to the eye; but its wealth in nutmegs was the loadstone that drew to it the attention of those merchant-princes, who long ruled the destinies of Holland in the further East. The rich products of this, known in the island as the mountain nut [8], with the mace, equally prized, the excellent maritime position, the superb roadstead, and the fertile soil of Banda, render it conspicuous among the Spice Islands: but, unlike Amboyna, it is unhealthy,

Beautiful scenery.

Roadstead.

[1] Constantine, *Voyage de la Compagnie des Indes*, iii. 322.

[2] Histoire Générale des Voyages, ix. 248.

[3] Voyages au Nord, viii. 43.

[4] Goguet, *Origine des Loix*, i. 171.

[5] Oxley, *Expedition to survey Port Cavis, Moreton Bay, and Port Cowen.*

[6] Forrest, *Voyage to New Guinea.*

[7] Maffei. *Istoria dell' Inde Orientali*, i. 327.

[8] Valmont de Bomare, *Histoire Naturelle*, iv. 177.

and exposed to constant danger from the volcano of Gunong Api[1], or the Fire Mountain, which has many times burst in magnificent eruption, devastating the neighbouring region, and blasting it with a shower of scorching ashes.[2] The three islands, Banda Neira, Nuthoir, and Gunong Api, form a roadstead sheltered from every wind, but the Fire Mountain is the curse of the group, not only when in eruption, but on account of the insalubrity it spreads around.[3] The base of the volcano, called by the French the Grenade of Banda[4], occupies the whole surface of the islet to which it gives a name. It rises with a gentle slope from the sea, increasing in elevation, it is said, with every explosion of the subterranean fire. Its present height is about two thousand feet. The mountain is covered with magnificent vegetation, commencing at the line where the waves cease to beat, and continuing upwards to the point where the lava ceases to flow, being cooled by the air. From peak to foot, however, may be traced the courses of fiery torrents which occasionally have overrun the verdant mantle that wraps the lower part of this vast volcanic pile, blasting it to cinders, and leaving standing the trunks of large trees[5], dead and black, presenting an aspect of desolation similar to that on the upper slopes of the Sacred Mountain in Sumatra.[6] Around the base grow woods of cocoa and other fruit trees, but the nutmeg is not cultivated, and the isle is inhabited only by a few emigrants from Timor.[7]

Fiery mountains.

Eruptions.

[1] Hogendorp, *Coup d'Œil sur Java.*
[2] See the *Verhandelingen part. his.* 115.
[3] Temminck, *Possessions Neerlandaises dans l'Inde*, iii. 289.
[4] Valmont de Bomare, *Histoire Naturelle*, iv. 181.
[5] Temminck, *Possessions Neerlandaises*, iii. 290.
[6] Raffles, *Memoirs*, by Lady Raffles, i. 367.
[7] Temminck, *Possessions Neerlandaises*, iii. 290.

Soil.

In Banda itself the soil is generally stony, and produces little more than nutmegs and mace. It was for these, however, that the Spaniards, the Portuguese, and the Dutch aspired to the possession of the island. The fragrant nut, supposed to be indigenous only in Ternate, is now no longer found there[1], but abounds in Banda. It may be cultivated with success in Borneo[2] and the Straits settlements; but, as already observed, refuses to flourish, except as an exotic, in any other region of the world, though it has been introduced into the Isle of France[3], while its congener, the clove, has spread not only thither, but over Cayenne[4] — over Asia, Africa, and the West Indies.[5] Formerly, when the use of spices was universal among the polished communities of Europe, as much in obedience to fashion as to taste, cloves were employed in every species of cookery.[6] They were also preserved by the Dutch in sugar, fresh from the tree, and eaten as dessert on the voyage, to promote digestion and prevent the scurvy.[7] The heavy, fragrant, golden-hued oil they yielded, ranked among materia medica as well as an article of luxury.[8] So also nutmegs were pickled in vinegar, softened in water, and served in syrup. They were eaten with tea, and indulged in to an injurious excess by voyagers in the cold north, who took them every morning, while the sailors

Growth of spices.

The clove.

Clove oil.

Use of cloves.

[1] Oxley, *The Nutmeg and its Cultivation*, *Journal of the Ind. Arch.* ii. 643.

[2] Low, *Sarawak and its Productions*, 33.

[3] Forrest, *Voyage to New Guinea.*

[4] Crawfurd, *Hist. of Indian Archipelago*, iii. 393.

[5] Oxley, *Cultivation of the Nutmeg*, *Journ. Ind. Arch.* ii. 642.

[6] See Thevenot, *Voyages*, iii. 324.

[7] Valmont de Bomare, *Histoire Naturelle*, iv. 180.

[8] Cloves are now used by the French in flavouring a preparation known to the *artiste* as Tarragon vinegar.—*Cookery of the Chichim Club.*

often employed them to chew instead of tobacco or betel.[1] The annual produce of nutmegs is about 650,000 pounds.[2] The other productions of the Banda group are trifling. Rice is regularly brought from Java to supply the deficiency in the means of subsistence. The nut of the Amadi tree, abundantly found in the jungles, is used as food, and when prepared yields a superior oil. Many other inhabitants of the forest are turned to valuable account.[3] Fuel in Banda is scarce, and part of the crews which man the trading boats to the Arru isles employ themselves, during their stay, in making chunam of lime, from the coral abounding on the beach — a profitable occupation.[4] The custom appears to be of old date, as among the reported marvels which the readers of travels are warned by a grave geographer[5] to reckon among "huge and monstrous lies" is, that in this sea there are stones which grow and increase like fish, of which the best lime is made. This evidently refers to coral, which to the present day is burned in Ternate into chunam to be mixed in a masticatory compound of betel-nut and siriki-leaf.[6] With similar incredulity, ill-founded, he mentions that oyster-shells are there found so large that children might be christened[7] in them, which is an obvious allusion to the Kima cockle, the fish of which

Annual produce.

Lime burners.

Verification of travellers' tales.

[1] Valmont de Bomare, *Histoire Naturelle*, iv. 179.

[2] Hamilton, *East India Gazetteer*.

[3] Hogendorp, *Coup d'Œil sur Java*.

[4] Stanley, *Visit to the Arafura Sea;* Stokes, *Discoveries in Australia*, i. 464.; also, Forrest, *Voyage*, 59.

[5] Heylyn, *Cosmography*, 925.

[6] Belcher, *Voyage of the Samarang*, i. 133.

[7] The shells of the Taclabo, or gigantic Philippine oyster, are actually used as fonts in the churches of that group. — Walton, *Preliminary Discourse*, 70.

frequently weighs thirty or forty pounds.[1] Some of the shells measure three feet across, are several inches thick, take a fine polish, and form valuable articles of the trade to China.[2] It is reported that one was found weighing 278 pounds.[3]

Aborigines of the Spice groups.

Humanity may blush to speak of the aboriginal inhabitants of the Banda group, for their extirpation in some of the islands is matter of history.[4] According to the Dutch themselves it is a race passed away, reaped from the face of the earth by their desolating sword[5], though others still point to the existence in the wild interior of a remnant of Alfoeras, Pagan savages, represented as hateful and brutal[6], but too little known to be correctly, too cruelly used to be harshly judged. It is not well for the Dutch to acknowledge that they have all but exterminated the people, and then condemn as irreclaimable barbarians the unhappy relic of a race, hunted down by them like the wild beasts of the wood.[7]

Dutch account.

Ternate.

Ternate lies off the western coast of Gilolo, and has throughout the history of European empire in the further East been regarded as an important possession.

Its ancient power.

It was once the centre and capital of a Sultanate, extending its power over sixty-six[8], or, according to an

[1] Forrest, *Voyage to New Guinea*, 43. The curious may consult Rumph. tab. 47. E. *Born.* 80.; Da Costa, *Conchyll.* vii. 4.; Chemnitz, vii. ix. 495.; Gmelin, *Linn. Syst.* 3300.

[2] See Bonan, i. 83, 84; Argenville, 23. Improving on this account the weight is here given as a quarter of a ton!

[3] Dampier, *Voyage to New Britain*, in Harris, i. 124.

[4] Crawfurd, *Hist. of Indian Archipelago*, i. 18.

[5] Temminck, *Possessions Neerlandaises*, iii. 290.

[6] Hogendorp, *Coup d'Œil sur Java.*

[7] How the islands were originally peopled, or how it occurs that the purest Malay is spoken in them (Raffles, *Memoirs*, i. 262.), are questions I leave for the discussion of others.

[8] Temminck, *Coup d'Œil*, iii. 142.

old writer, seventy islands in the Molucca sea, many of them far superior to itself in extent. From these dependencies, it levied a militia of nearly a 100,000 men[1], and rivalled the influence of Java long before the Portuguese flag was spread in the Archipelago. Little more than a 100 years ago, it was reported to produce more spices than any of the other Moluccas[2]; but the policy of the Dutch has stripped it of this rich inheritance, though, while they root up the trees with indefatigable malice, nature continues to propagate them by means of the nutmeg-feeding pigeon.[3] Ternate enjoys a climate whose salubrity is proverbial in the Archipelago, and a sojourn there proves an agreeable restorative to those whose health may have been impaired by a residence in the less genial climate of the Banda group.[4] Originally known as Leniagopie it received its present appellation, according to the traditionary account, from an episode in the history of Islam. The first ship, it is said, which sailed eastward from Malacca with the apostles of the new faith on board, was overtaken by a violent tempest, and driven to and fro until the company were plunged into the extremity of distress from the failure of provisions. In this perplexity, the leader called on the Prophet for succour to the Faithful. "If thou art the chief of the true believers, prove thyself by guiding us safely to a shore." Next day land was discovered, and the country named Siedak Ternjate—"it is proved"—since corrupted into Ternate.

Dutch policy.

Health of the island.

Origin of the name.

Mohammedan legend.

This island, composed like Gunong Api of a single mountain, is of volcanic formation, and has recently

Form of the island.

[1] D'Avitay, *Histoire Générale de l'Asie*, 904.

[2] Hamilton, *East India Gazetteer*.

[3] Oxley, *Cultivation of the Nutmeg*, *Journ. Ind. Arch.* ii. 643.

[4] Temminck, *Possessions Neerlandaises*, iii. 142.

been cleft in two by a convulsion of the earth. It appears to serve only as the base of a fiery cone, that shoots up more than 1000 feet, magnified in the old accounts as a prodigious mountain, in height above the clouds of the air, which is actually true [1]; continually emitting huge flames of fire, dark smoke, and dreadful thunder.[2] The sides are covered with forests and patches of tall rank grass, intermingled with flowering plants of every tint and hue, and watered by innumerable fresh-water rivulets.[3] The base is beautifully wooded. A little rice and maize, with the sago almost universal in these islands, is all that is produced. Dried venison, saltfish, and manufactures in wood or glass, are exchanged for cotton clothes and supplies of food.[4]

Aspect.

Cultivation.

Tidor, like Ternate, — whence it is two or three leagues distant [5], — is formed in its southern part of lofty hills. The soil is of great fecundity [6], and plentifully watered by streams from the peaks.[7] The people appreciate these blessings, and labour more earnestly on the land than those of the sister isle, distinguishing themselves by an aptitude for agricultural occupation. Near is Batchian, the largest of the chaplet of isles surrounding Gilolo, fertile as Tidor, but neglected and rotting in its wealth and beauty, under the hands of a population universally indolent.[8] The soil is volcanic, and below the active crater springs of sulphureous

Tidor.

Industry of the people.

[1] Forrest, *Voyage to New Guinea*, 39.
[2] Heylyn, *Cosmography*, 919.
[3] Belcher, *Voyage of the Samarang*, i. 133.
[4] Temminck, *Possessions Neerlandaises*, iii. 150.
[5] Forrest, *Voyage to New Guinea*, 37.
[6] Temminck, *Possessions Neerlandaises*, iii. 151.
[7] Forrest, *Voyage to New Guinea*, 39.
[8] Temminck, *Possessions Neerlandaises*, iii. 154.

water break from the ground in the most picturesque situations. Among the people here, as in Amboyna, the Christian converts are the most inert and servile.[1] The situation and aspect of the island are beautiful, its fertility is abundant, its climate leaves little to desire, yet is all but a waste, with a scant and scattered population immersed in poverty. Monkeys are to be found nowhere else in the Moluccan Archipelago.[2]

Christian converts.

Animals.

The Molucca sea is sprinkled with smaller islands interesting and curious in themselves, but too little important, and too numerous to be separately noticed. Among them may be enumerated Tawali, Mandola, Lutta, Hanika, Saparua, Ghissa, the Keffing Isles, Amblow, Manifra, Kilang, Bono, Harekoe, Hominoa, Noesa Laut, Hila, Kilwari, Binoa, Nelany, Manipa, Manok, Myo, Tesory, Serua, Motir, Bally, Tomoguy, Selang, Gag, and Battang Pally. There is considerable variety in their aspect, form, and size. Some, like Battany Pally, are not half a mile round, though bearing a grove of trees. Others, considerably larger, are of moderate elevation, and wooded over their whole extent. Pulo Gag, unlike most of its companions, presents an English appearance, being luxuriantly fertile, but with the exception of a few tall timber clumps, entirely bare of trees.[3] Many are wholly uninhabited. The greater and the lesser Keffing, however, now little known islets, S.E. of Ceram, are well peopled by Mohammedan Malays, and sprinkled with houses of traders engaged in traffic with the Nassau, the Ki, and the Tenimber Isles, where they sell the produce of their fishery, tortoise, and trepang. The isles are low, but remarkably picturesque, being shaded by groves of the

Smaller groups.

[1] Hogendorp, *Coup d'Œil sur Java.*

[2] Kolff, *Voyage of the Dourga.*

[3] Forrest, *Voyage*, 545.

Whalers' resorts.

cocoa-nut palm. Little productive themselves, they serve as depôts for provisions, supplying the whalers who occasionally visit these seas [1], bartering arms, ammunition, and calico, for fruit and live stock, which are cheaply provided — according to the Dutch an unlawful trade.[2] The little group is encircled by very extensive reefs projecting into deep water [3], rendering it difficult of approach. The Cachelot or spermaceti whale abounds in this ocean, and might support an extensive fishery.[4] Some of the islets are low, sandy, girdled by reefs, and, as in Ghissa, with a lagoon in the centre, absolutely swarming with fish, while the shores are peopled by ducks and snipes.[5] Pulo Manok or Bird Island lies midway between Ceram and the Serwatty group — a high solitary mountain resting on the bosom of the sea, with a truncated cone, desert, and the refuge only of myriads of birds, which deposit such vast quantities of eggs, that many of the natives of the neighbouring isles visit the place and subsist for whole days on this wholesome food. Sulphur is also found on the rocks. The little communities existing in these scattered groups present curious phases of social life. Dwelling in houses erected on posts, they in many instances surround their villages with rough walls of coral, occasionally carrying a similar fortification all along the shore.[6] Many indications among them prove the existence of piracy. Slaves, nutmegs, trepang, tortoiseshell, edible bird's nests, are bartered for powder, shot, muskets, and small cannon, besides calico and china-ware, betray the inclination of the people to the use of arms.[7] Many of them, apparently peaceful

The whale fishery.

Bird Island.

Inhabitants of the isles.

Piracy.

[1] Temminck, *Possessions Neerlandaises*, iii. 301.
[2] Kolff, *Voyage of the Dourga*, 299. [3] Darwin, *Coral Reefs*.
[4] Crawfurd, *Hist. Indian Archipelago*, iii. 447.
[5] Kolff, *Voyage of the Dourga*, 288. [6] Ibid. 289.
[7] Temminck, iii. 307.

traders, are secretly addicted to piracy, though some bear a character for innocence and love of industry altogether inconsistent with this pursuit.[1] Among these are the inhabitants of Motir, a gentle, tranquil, sober tribe, following the occupation of potters, and supplying the neighbouring islands with vessels and utensils of various kinds made of red clay elegantly moulded and of good quality.[2] These compete in the markets of the Molucca sea with the plates and pans brought by the traders of Keffing from the Ki Islands.[3]

Industrious tribes.

The islands of Gilolo, Ceram, Bouro, occupy places by themselves in this history, and it is evident that of the numerous others, with those not noticed and yet without a name, no more than a general sketch can be given. That remote sea is still imperfectly known to navigators, and amid its mazes of reefs and shoals perfectly bewildering the buccaneer finds an impenetrable retreat. Some of the islands, like Batchian and Seland, are completely fringed with reefs.[4] On the north Morty is lined with them for two or three miles from the shore.[5] The multitude of these obstructions — some of them lying under water and discerned only by their bright colour[6], combined with the strong and perplexing currents that prevail — were sources of terror to early voyagers, who in many places found the water too deep for anchorage.[7] Large ships especially dread the reefs, though these — sources of danger as they are — contribute

Characteristics of the sea.

Reefs and shoals.

[1] See for Papuan trade, *Asiatic Journal*, n. s., vi. 336.
[2] Hogendorp, *Coup d'Œil sur Java.*
[3] Kolff, *Voyage of the Dourga*, 345.
[4] Dalrymple, Darwin, Forrest.
[5] Horsburgh, *Sailing Directions.*
[6] Forrest, *Voyage to New Guinea.*
[7] De la Flotte, *Essai Historique sur l'Inde*, iii.

also to the welfare of the islanders, who look to the abundance of shell-fish they supply among the chief means of support.[1] By another process, however, it is maintained that they constitute an evil to the races of the islands, for it has been ably argued that wherever coral reefs are exposed at low water, animal decomposition goes on to an extent proportionate with their size, and that the malaria thus engendered form a principal cause of the fevers endemic there.[2] This is disputed, and the point remains for investigation.[3]

Voyage to New Guinea.

From this bird's-eye view of the Molucca islands, imperfect as it necessarily is, an idea may be formed of the region, which at the period we have now reached, formed the theatre of very important events. Don Garcio Henriquez was appointed to govern it, after the disgrace of De Britto, whose conduct had filled to overflowing the hatred of the native population. He found the King of Tidor engaged in war, and resolved to destroy all danger of his future enmity by a process unworthy of the lowest savage. Almanzor, Prince of Tidor, at peace with the Portuguese, fell sick and sent a request to the new governor, that he would allow his physician to attend him. The physician was sent, and the first healing draught he administered was a subtle poison which speedily carried off the unwary chief. Such were the first lessons taught in the name of civilisation and Christianity to the barbarian races of the Indian Archipelago. Nor was this instance singular. The conduct of the Europeans in the Oriental seas was marked by many similar features. The spirit of the age was savage, and the path of conquest was

Crime of a Portuguese governor.

[1] Forrest, *Voyage to New Guinea.*

[2] Robert Little, Esq., *Journ. Ind. Arch.* iii. 413.

[3] "Dr. Little's Coral Theory," *Journ. Ind. Arch.* iii. 690.

stained with the deepest dyes, not only of simple blood, but treachery and crime. Influence was established, not through conciliation but through terror. Probably the islanders, in the early ages of their intercourse with Europe, entertained no better idea of the western nations, than that they were great pirates, who roved all distant seas in quest of plunder; as in another period the English were regarded as a race without a home, that dwelt perpetually on the waves, and were engaged in a continual voyage through all the waters of the globe, pursuing the profession of the freebooter. Nor did the Portuguese fail to deepen the impression left by their earlier acts. First, they introduced that spice monopoly, which afterwards they made a reproach against the Dutch.[1] Anecdotes also are multiplied in the annals of their progress which justify the severest judgment of history. In 1527 a Portuguese vessel, while on its way to Goa with letters from Malacca, fell in, near the western promontory of Sumatra, with an Achinese ship, said to be richly laden, on her way from the Shrine at Mecca. Three hundred of her own nation, and forty emigrants from Arabia were on board. This force deterred the timid commander from a close engagement; but he immediately opened fire, and battered his victim from a distance, preparing to board when she should be disabled. Suddenly she heeled over, and went down in a moment. The prize was gone; but revenge might still be taken, for numbers of the unhappy wretches struggled in the water, and sought to escape by swimming.[2] It is the boast of their national historian that none survived. All were slaughtered as they floated.[3]

Piratical adventure.

Massacre of fugitives in the water.

[1] Fr. Pirard, *Voyages*, c. xv. p. 2.
[2] Marsden, *History of Sumatra*, 341.
[3] Diogo do Conto, qu. Marsden.

Proceedings in Tidor.

Consequently the murder of the Tidor king need not shock us in incredulity. Don Henriquez was not contented with this act; but aimed at seizing the whole territory subject to the deceased prince. He invented an occasion of dispute, and settled it by arms before a word of discussion was uttered. The first token the people received was a sudden invasion of their island, a fierce and ruthless irruption which laid their lands waste and left their chief towns in ashes. Still there was a courageous spirit in the island population, and they rose from end to end of the country, with the vain desire of exterminating their enemies and closing their ports for ever against them. Powerful succour also appeared to promise from Europe; for Charles the Fifth of Spain, whose cupidity had been excited by florid accounts of the regions in the further East, resolved to make good his claims upon the Moluccas, and, preferring arms to diplomacy, dispatched a squadron of six vessels to establish his dominion in the face of opposition from every rival. Two of the ships foundered by the way, two returned to Europe, and two only, with a force of 300 men, reached Tidor, where they were warmly welcomed and encouraged to attack the Portuguese. Their timidity restrained them, and the weakness of their enemies induced a truce, not protracted, however, by any abatement of their national rancour.

Native insurrection.

This pacific condition of affairs was of brief duration. In the same year the governor of the Moluccas was superseded by Don George de Menezes, the vilest of that vile succession of petty despots; and his contest with Henriquez, who was loth to abandon authority, kindled a civil war among the Spice Islands. Meanwhile the Spaniards, reinforced from Europe, took advantage of the division among their enemies, attacked and defeated them. They also, however, received aid

Rivalry with the Spanish crown.

from the mother country, and returned to the conflict with animation. At length their superior force, energy, and courage prevailed. They swept the Spaniards from Tidor, and compelled them to accept a convention, relinquishing for ever all share in the dominion of the Molucca seas.

The island Ternate now became the centre of a short series of movements. Its youthful king, accused by his uncle of dealing with demons, and practising the forbidden arts of sorcery, was in danger of a miserable fate from the anger of his people. Imagining, in his credulous simplicity, that the Europeans would protect him, he fled to the citadel and begged assistance; but the Portuguese governor refused his petition, and the unhappy chief flung himself from a window to avoid a more disgraceful death. Menezes had not been deaf to the prayer of this unhappy prince through friendship for his uncle, whom he accused — whether truly or not is uncertain — of killing a Chinese hog that was his property. On this suspicion the usurper — a patron of the Mohammedan faith in the Archipelago — was seized, imprisoned, smeared with pig's lard, and then let loose to smart under the bitterness of an insult, doubly revolting to him as a follower of the Muslim prophet. Stung to the heart by the opprobrious act, the chief wandered among the tribes of the island to stir up a rebellion, succeeding so far that the people refused to supply the Portuguese fort with provisions.

Ferocity of Menezes.

To punish this refractory disposition, Menezes captured three of the principal chiefs, cut off the right hands of two, and pinioning the other turned him loose upon the beach to be torn to pieces by two wild and hungry mastiffs. The governor then added a new chapter to the history of his crimes by dragging to a public execution the regent of Ternate, accused of an

Desertion of Ternate.

unreal conspiracy. This last and most infamous act drove the people to what they had long been inclined; and almost with one accord, they rose up and left the island, for ages inhabited by their forefathers, to be the home and inheritance of a savage foreign conqueror.

A.D. 1528.

This was matter of little moment to the governor of the Moluccas, who did not propose to enrich the islands and his own country at the same time. With the short-sighted policy of all monopolists, he sought to drain it of its national wealth; and, considering it rather as a mine to be worked and abandoned than as a fertile country to be tended and developed, cared nothing whether the people remained or fled, except that a capitation tax was lost to the revenue. He continued in his cruel, impolitic course, enjoying a lease of power longer than usual on account of a disaster that occurred at Achin in this year.

European policy.

Simon de Sousa, coming out to supersede him, touched by the way at Achin, where he encountered a retaliation for the sinking of the pilgrim ship a year before. In the actual transaction, the whole blame rests with the natives; but nothing else could be looked for from them in return for the Portuguese atrocities. When de Sousa arrived he was invited to land, or at least to anchor near the beach, under shelter of the shore. A thousand men were embarked in prahus and sent to attack the vessel, under pretence of mooring it, as the Japanese of the present day are accustomed to do.[1] The captain, discovering the plot, fired on the squadron, and, after losing forty men, slaughtered many and repulsed all of his assailants. A second fleet was equipped, and one boat sent in advance with assurances of friendship. The Achinese admiral followed this false herald of peace,

Retaliation of the Achinese.

[1] See Belcher, *Voyage*, ii. 3.

stimulated to courage by the king's assurance that he should be trampled to death by elephants in case of failure. A desperate battle followed. The vessel, surrounded by the barbarian fleets, thundered out volley after volley on all sides; but the savages swarmed over the bulwarks, were repulsed, renewed the attack, and at length, after the decks were drenched with blood, captured de Sousa with a few of his comrades, and led them, grievously wounded, before the king. This crafty prince pretended all imaginable surprise at the hostilities that had occurred, and sent one of the captives to Malacca, bidding the governor send for his ship, inviting an alliance, offering the restoration of the Portuguese artillery, and by these means hoping to entrap more victims. At war with the king of Aru, who had sent an envoy soliciting aid from Malacca, he expected his policy would prevent it, and was not disappointed. The officer who was sent from Achin was killed in returning by some piratical islanders; while the belligerent kings, after a drawn battle at sea, concluded peace, and vowed common enmity against the common foe.[1]

[1] Marsden, Castaneda, Diogo do Conto.

CHAPTER VI.

Farther enterprise in the Archipelago.

At Malacca the Portuguese continued to flourish on the increase of their Indian trade. A spirit of enterprise, then displaying itself in Europe, warned them to anticipate the competition of other nations on the new field of commerce, and they endeavoured to secure the advantage they had obtained, as foremost in the race. To insinuate their influence at the courts of the island kings, they accepted offers of alliance, and attempted on this basis to ground their power in Java. The experiment failed, and this disgrace was followed by a disaster at Achin. The prince of that country, implacable and bold, gave no leisure to his attempts against the Portuguese. The unfortunate remnant of de Sousa's company, with the captain of a trading vessel that fell into his hands, were put to death [1], and a plot was organised at Malacca for the destruction of its garrison. The conspiracy was discovered, and its leaders paid with their lives the penalty of their intrigue. At this juncture the main spring of this hostile organisation, the sovereign of Achin died, and was succeeded by Aladdin Shah — styled "Aladdin, king of Achin, Barus, Pedir, Passe, Daya, and Butta, prince of the land of the two seas, and of the mines of Menangcabao." [2] The Portuguese, therefore, were relieved from the imminent danger that threatened them.

A.D. 1529.

Disaster at Achin.

Composition be-

They had learned, however, that in arms at least they were not invincible; and to narrow the avenues of danger

[1] Marsden, *History of Sumatra*, 344. [2] Ibid. 345.

proceeded to bribe the Emperor Charles the Fifth of Spain into a renunciation of his claims upon the Spice Islands, by the payment of three hundred and fifty thousand ducats of gold. He accepted the offer, as his coffers needed replenishment; but the convention reserved for him a right of re-purchase on the same terms.[1] In a similar spirit of peace a mission was dispatched from Malacca to Achin. The ruler of that kingdom inherited, with his throne, his father's hatred of the Portuguese, and resolved to be bound to them by no ties of amity or faith. When the embassy arrived, he treacherously attacked the vessel, and made a general massacre of the envoy and all his company. The stratagem was completely successful, and encouraged its author to meditate the conquest of the Peninsula from its European possessors. This he sought to accomplish by the aid of a traitor within the walls; but the scheme was unsuccessful.

tween Portugal and Spain.

A.D. 1530.

Diversified by episodes like these, the reign of the Portuguese at Malacca was prosperous and generally peaceful. In the development of the policy of alliance with native powers, they dispatched Gonzalez Pereira, as governor of the Moluccas, directing him to visit Brunéby the way. The first treaty between the sovereign of that kingdom, in the great island of Borneo, and any European crown was then concluded. After the accomplishment of this object, Pereira sailed for the group which he was to govern, and found there anarchy and wretchedness—the common results of a profligate, tyrannical rule. Endeavouring to re-gather the scattered fragments of prosperity, he conciliated the goodwill of the Ternate people, who once more returned to their

Progress of the Portuguese at Malacca.

And in the Moluccas.

[1] Walton, *Preliminary Discourse*, 17.

native island. Peace was concluded with the king of Tidor, and the first bud of promise appeared in the tranquillity of the Moluccas. But the Portuguese — constituting a foreign aristocracy amid a barbarous race — could or would not bridle their rapacity or subdue their pride. A rebellion, fierce and bloody, was kindled in Ternate. The new governor was among its first victims. The king of the island, perhaps as an ally of the hated strangers, was dethroned and hunted to a refuge among the mountains. A bastard son of the late prince was raised, in his stead, to the nominal sovereignty. His enjoyment of the dignity was short. An usurper assumed the title of Portuguese governor, became his enemy, and drove him to a flight among the woods. By the same authority, the king of Tidor was expelled, and Fonseca, the self-styled governor, carried desolation at the point of the sword, with flames and pillage, through the island. He was interrupted in his royal career by the succession of Tristan de Ataida, whose name may be written among the worst of those who inscribed, in characters of blood and rapine, their memories among the waters of the Indian Ocean. He raised to the throne the infant son of the late king's Javan concubine, a woman who considered it no good fortune to see her child raised to so perilous a post of honour. She refused to countenance his enthronement; and for this obstinacy was dragged to an upper window of the castle, and flung headlong to the earth.

A.D. 1531. Hated by the islanders.

This act was one of the principal among many of a kindred character, which rendered the Portuguese name a by-word for all that was hateful to the native races. They saw nothing in their white conquerors, but what was infamous and cruel. Their enmity now consolidated itself, and a league was formed among the princes of the Moluccas, the Papuan tribes of New Guinea, and the

king of Gilolo, to exterminate the common enemy of all the aboriginal nations — an enemy that came murdering, destroying, and oppressing, in virtue only of superior art and power, setting up an absolute tyranny over the original owners of the soil. The Portuguese were suddenly attacked, numbers were massacred, and their fortress was blockaded by the Ternatians. The garrison was reduced to the last extremity of famine. A long series of conflicts took place, and the insurgents rejoiced in the prospect of entire deliverance. Success, for a considerable period, seemed to follow every effort. During four or five years, they shut their enemies up, and harassed them by a continual siege, only prevented from overwhelming them altogether by the intermittent succours that arrived from Malacca. At length, the heroic and virtuous Galvan appeared on the island, restored the Portuguese to safety, and introduced some order into their affairs. In the following year he proceeded to Tidor, with 170 European, and 230 Indian troops, and encountered the allied army of the Moluccas. According to their computation 30,000 men were drawn up to receive battle. Whether, however, any means of reckoning were possessed, or whether the whole was not exaggerated by the vanity of an exulting conqueror, is conjectural. Certain it is, nevertheless, that the ranks led by the king of Ternate were broken, routed, and dispersed, with the loss, it is said, of only one Portuguese slave. Thus, Galvan commenced by a great victory the administration which he proposed to conduct through the paths of peace and wisdom; but the jealousy of his countrymen, and the rancour of his island subjects, threw immense obstacles in the way of his projects. The governor whom he had succeeded, was his envious enemy, and combined a faction against him, stirring up discontent, and exciting a new revolt. In this scheme

A.D. 1536. Virtuous administration of Galvan.

A.D. 1536.

he failed; and at length, despairing of success, detached his party of malcontents from the body of settlers, quitted the Indian islands for the Indian continent, and sought to establish a community in that splendid region, from whose exhaustless soil have flowed the streams of commercial wealth over the widest seas, to the most distant quarters of the globe. Whatever were the fortunes of this wandering herd of malcontents, they never emerged from obscurity.

Reduced in numbers, and therefore in actual force, the colonists had no reason to regret the departure of a turbulent band, that loved only riot and plunder, comprehending no policy but that which pillaged the islands, to enrich their foreign conquerors.

The plans of Galvan, originating in a liberal humanity, were directed to restore the peace of the Spice Islands, and to re-unite in bonds of amity the natives and the Europeans. But the kings of Gilolo and Batchian relaxed nothing of their hostility, and made steady preparations to recommence the conflict. They flung down a challenge to the enemy. Antonio Galvan, however, was no lover of bloodshed; and animated by something of a chivalrous spirit, which yet lingered in his age, proposed to meet his crowned enemies in single combat —a plan which would be honourable, while sparing the waste of human blood. The chiefs, with a tenderness over the effusion of innocent blood, rare among the royal and ambitious, consented to the plan, and the battle was about to take place, when the king of Tidor threw his intercession between the hostile champions; urged the virtue, the policy, and the possibility of reconciliation; and through the medium of his interposition, the men who were preparing to meet in arms, came together to sign a treaty of peace, friendship, and mutual concession.

His chivalrous conduct.

Political transaction.

The throne of Ternate now became vacant, and the Portuguese resolved to restore a prince whom Ataida had banished to the Indian continent. In the retirement of his exile, he had embraced the Cross, and turned his back as well on the faith of the Prophet, as on the gods of his old idolatry. He was embarked in a vessel bound for the Moluccas; and, sailing to enjoy his recovered crown, touched by the way at Malacca, where he fell sick, and died. Whether disease or treachery brought him to his grave, is not related. It is improbable that any foul means were employed, as the Portuguese desired his restoration; but in their case suspicion is neither gratuitous nor unjust. With those who habitually commit great crimes, the affectation of indignant virtue is a mockery; and when the sword or the poison cup had been so frequently made use of, it is natural to conceive that some enemy at Malacca opened for the prince of Ternate a short road to death.

Character of Galvan.

Among the Spice Islands, however, there was at least an interregnum of humanity, a brief supremacy of justice, which shines as a sunny spot amid the dark annals of Portuguese dominion in the further East. Galvan's character was deformed by none of that profligate ambition, that needless cruelty, and shameless ill faith, which distinguished his predecessors, as well as many of those who succeeded to his authority. His treatment of the Spaniards who visited the group was marked by none of the wretched jealousy which irritates the powerful, when they are conscious of possessing only the right of superior strength, — which dreads in every man a rival, and fears in every friend an usurper.

Spanish adventures renewed.

Ferdinand Cortez, who opened the gates of Mexico, and spread conquest with the sword wherever his courageous genius had extended the circle of discovery, dispatched two well-armed ships to the Moluccas, probably to

ascertain whether they offered a valuable or easy field for new aggrandisement. The ships, after being long tossed by storms, entered the group, and were wrecked on one of its shores. The crews, made prisoners, were treated by the governor with a generous humanity that did honour to his name.

Universal spirit of monopoly.

Yet Galvan's character was not untinged by that spirit of monopoly, which was the great commercial sin of his sordid and bigoted age, and formed the source of the most fearful crimes perpetrated by the conquerors of the New World. The riches of the East offered a prize to the adventurers of all Europe. To secure them was the favourite ambition of his countrymen; and Galvan's desire was to turn the wealth of those teeming lands into one channel, which might flow home, render Portugal opulent, and place her on the throne of commerce. The common sense of mankind already esteemed this the most solid and enviable of all honours. But trade was not then viewed as a science; or, if it was, its professors were men, stultified by their selfish passions, whose intellects revolved in a dark and narrow sphere. They had learned from philosophy the lesson, that monopoly is the dishonourable means by which slothful avarice endeavours to satisfy its cupidity, while it nurses its luxurious indolence. Galvan, the wisest of all the Portuguese governors of the Moluccas, while reaping the rich harvests of trade, sought to shut out the native merchants, born inheritors of that commerce, from all share in its emoluments. But the merchants of Java, Banda, Celebes, and Amboyna, when the great avenues of wealth were thus closed, resolved to open them by force of arms, and clear the trader's path in a war against the enemies of their industry. Leaguing, therefore, in brotherhood, these

Theory of trade.

barbarian champions of free trade assembled at Amboyna, organised an army, and prepared for a campaign.

Rebellion in the Moluccas.

Their purpose was soon defeated. Galvan, at Ternate, received intelligence of their movements, collected a force, dispatched it to meet them, and was soon gratified by the announcement of their total overthrow. Thus left with leisure to prosecute his policy of civilising, conciliating, and gently subduing the islanders, he now, when all his enemies were scattered, applied himself heart and soul to his self-imposed duty. The conversion and education of the people were the great features of his plan; and he commissioned many apostles of Catholicism to preach in the towns and villages, and among the pastoral tribes, the religion of God—the true religion, though clouded by the black mysteries of the Papal church. That creed, however blemished and false it may be, appears, of all others, the fittest for propagation among savage races. To them it is useless to discourse as to men with clear and open minds. We must attract them to us, and to our religion, not necessarily by shows and mummeries, but by the ceremonials of a gorgeous ritual; and better is it even to set up an idol for their adoration, than by repelling their imagination with the naked forms of a faith too pure for minds accustomed to the worship of material divinities, to drive them back to their woods, to grovel before heathen images, amid the eternal temples of nature. Galvan instituted a school for religious education; and this was subsequently privileged by the approval of the conclave at Trent. Christianity, as shadowed forth in the ministry of the Romish priests, took speedy root among the Moluccas; and not only flourished there in a thriving infancy, but spread on the north to Magindanao, and on the west to Celebes.

Galvan's vigorous policy.

His excellent endeavours.

Preaching of Christianity.

True method of conversion.

Religious schools established.

Nor did Galvan confine his measures to the conver-

sion of the people. When the yoke was on their necks, when the terror of his arms had broken the spirit of their independence, he instructed them in the elementary arts of civilisation; he insinuated himself into their affections, his name became a household word among them, and they loved him. So high did their feeling run, that they proposed he should cast away the sovereignty of the mother state in Europe, and mount their throne as the elected king of the Moluccas.

Love of the people for Galvan.

The influence of Christendom continually thriving in the East, through such a medium, would have fostered civilisation among its people, and spared humanity many of the horrors which afterwards afflicted it in the Archipelago. But in those days, the governor of a distant dependency, in proportion as he rose in the esteem of his temporary subjects, fell in the scale of favour at home. Every friend made in the Indian Islands, created an enemy in Portugal. Probably the prudence and the faith of Galvan would have enabled him steadily to resist the solicitations of the grateful people to whom he first exhibited, in an honourable light, the civilisation of Europe. Whether, however, jealous of his success, or fearful of his ambition, the government recalled him, and appointed in his place a low adventurer, who speedily overthrew the rising fabric he had laboured to erect, and of which he had already laid the foundation and the plan.

Jealousy of his success in Portugal.

While, in the Moluccas, a short interval of peace was enjoyed, war continued to harass the Peninsula, where the European flag had been first raised. The new king of Achin, undisheartened by failure, crossed the straits, and laid siege to Malacca. His army landed under cover of darkness, and committed some ravages. The campaign, however, was short. He was driven from the city, into the shelter of the woods, and again

Renewed sieges of Malacca.

hunted thence to the sea-shore, where the invaders embarked and fled with the loss of 500 men.[1] The king retired discouraged, not vanquished, to meditate a new attack, while Aladdin of Johore lay in his capital breathing hatred to his enemies. They foresaw that his hostility was on the point of eruption; and, to anticipate his movements, marched a body of troops to reduce the city. The enterprise was unsuccessful; but was followed by another of superior force, when Johore was assaulted, captured, and sacked. This triumph was succeeded by another attempt of the king of Achin to make himself master of Malacca. The fortifications had been strengthened; and though the enemy's assault was fierce and courageous, so vigorous was the defence, that after three days the siege was broken up[2], and the king led his fleet back to Achin.

Wars of the Achinese.

The wars of this prince in Sumatra were numerous. His contempt of faith was as flagrant as his contempt for human life. He treacherously attacked the king of the Cannibal Battas, after agreeing to a treaty of peace; and, encouraged by a reinforcement of 300 Arab adventurers, laid the country waste, and devoted it to an unsparing pillage. The chief of the Battas was inflamed with rage. He vowed to eat no salt or fruit until this wrong had been avenged. An army of 15,000 men, strengthened by allies from the neighbouring states and from Borneo, was collected, and supplied with arms from Malacca. The campaign was opened, and the Achinese suffered more than one defeat; but the dread of an invasion from Siam drove the united forces back into the Batta country, a distance of five days' march. To spread the terror of his arms and stamp deeply the impression of this triumph, the king of Achin made

[1] Marsden, *History of Sumatra*, 345. [2] Ibid. 346.

war upon Aru, which, being opposite Malacca, would be formidable in the hands of an enemy. Its sovereign solicited aid from the Portuguese.[1]

They were at that time engaged in civil disputes, and at first neglected the application; but at length sent over a cargo of stores. The Achinese fleet of 160 prahus, with 17,000 men on board, laid siege to the capital of Aru by sea. The city was taken by assault; the king was killed, and the queen, with a remnant of the army, driven into the woods. There she hovered around the skirts of the enemy, harassing them by a guerilla warfare until the rains came on, and flooded all the woods. Without a place of retreat in Sumatra, she fled to the Peninsula, vainly sought aid of the Portuguese, but found refuge in the island of Bintan. The brave admiral of that kingdom, with a manly, though a savage chivalry, espoused her cause, declared war against the Achinese, overthrew them in a great battle by sea, and restored the queen to her inheritance. Foiled and defeated, the invader visited his anger on the leaders of his unfortunate army: they were beheaded, and it is said, though on equivocal authority, that the soldiers were condemned thenceforth to wear women's clothes.[2]

Relapse of the Moluccas into anarchy. A. D. 1540.

These scenes were enacting while Galvan's reign in the Spice Islands was drawing to a close; and while Aladdin Shah the Second mounted the now worthless throne of Johore, the Moluccas were relapsing into the old anarchy and wretchedness. In 1542 Spain attempted to spread her religion and military domination throughout the Philippines. The baptism of one child, and the naming of the group by its present appellation,

A. D. 1542.

[1] Marsden, *History of Sumatra*, 346.
[2] Mendez Pinto.

was the result.[1] The commander of the fleet, Vilalobos, was strictly ordered to steer clear of the Moluccas that the Portuguese might enjoy no cause of jealousy; but after his failure among the Philippines, he resolved to break this command, and seek to atone among the Spice Islands for the disgrace of an unsuccessful enterprise. His reception among them was such as to forbid any further attempt, and sailing to Amboyna, he there died of remorse and melancholy. The disasters of his expedition, and the shame of failure, cut him off, or perhaps he ended his life by suicide, rather than abide the chance of punishment in Spain.[2]

A.D. 1544. Brigandage of the Portuguese.

In 1544 George de Castro was the governor of the Moluccas, and he renewed all the iniquities, the cruelties, the oppressions, and the system of brigandage which had distinguished the early sway of the Portuguese. Peace was at an end. Discontent spread with renewed rancour, and developed itself in an intermittent series of rebellions. The chief of Ternate, disaffected towards the usurpers of his kingdom, was made prisoner, and exiled to Goa, then the most important city of their empire in the East.

A. D. 1546

Two years later the natives of the Spice group, impoverished by the monopoly of trade arrogated by their European invaders, renewed their endeavours to open the commerce of the islands. A fleet of prahus was equipped to collect cloves. The Portuguese, resolved to vindicate their privilege of an exclusive traffic in these precious commodities, fitted out a squadron of twenty-five small vessels, sent it out to patrol the Molucca sea, and declared all private speculations in spices rebellious and contraband. An encounter took place

Protection of monopoly.

[1] Crawfurd, ii. 452.

[2] Walton, *Preliminary Discourse*, 17.

Sea fight.

between the native merchants and the protective fleet, when the islanders were overthrown and scattered with the loss of all the treasure they had collected to purchase cloves with. Rejoiced by this success, the victorious commander determined to carry it further, and landed a force at Amboyna, where the people were easily terrified into submission. This island, which had been the centre of the movements for liberty of trade, was annexed to the Portuguese possessions, but its natural wealth was disregarded, and it remained only as a watering-place and harbour of refuge until the period of the Dutch conquest.

A. D. 1547. Continual conflicts.

These events led in a train of wars and fears of wars, throughout the Portuguese possessions in the Eastern seas. Malacca, already threatened by many sieges, was still exposed to the irreconcilcable hostility of the Achinese monarch, whose assaults became more formidable, as every defeat suggested to him new devices of intrigue, or urged him to more headlong energy and valour. In 1547 the salvation of the city from his arms was ascribed to the sudden appearance of Saint Francis Xavier, the apostle of India, who was now on his pilgrimage through the East, and had recently made 600 or 700 converts among the pearl fishers of Manaar.[1] At the period of his arrival, Malacca was threatened by a formidable invasion from the opposite island of Sumatra, which was delayed, though not abandoned. On the 18th of October the king of Achin, whose resources, considering him as the sovereign of a barbarian state, appear wonderfully profuse, was encouraged by the alliance of a league among the western provinces of India to embark a large army, in seventy vessels, to lay siege to the Portuguese metropolis. A body of Janis-

St. Francis Xavier.

Vast armament against Malacca.

[1] Hough, *Christianity in India*, II. iii. 188.; Abbé du Bois, 3.

saries who hired their swords to the most liberal master, aided the expedition, which possessed 200 pieces of ordnance, small and great. The result of this enterprise was similar to that of the last. The Achinese, ere they had quitted their own coast, were defeated with immense slaughter, and the king, dispirited but abating nothing of his rancour, retired to brood over the prospect of triumph and retaliation, under the light of a more fortunate star.

St. Francis Xavier, when, in 1549, his mission on the Peninsula had opened the way into the region of the further East, proceeded with his Bible to the islands to preach the gospel in the name of the Supreme Church. Among the Moluccas he was successful, as the Jesuits in almost all cases were, and sustained the character of his order, as the most untiring, the most zealous, and the most politic, of all proselyte makers. Everywhere their's has been a career at least of temporary triumph, in China, India, and the regions of the South Pacific, while in some places they have left a heritage of knowledge, the stored up treasury of long and patient toil, for which humanity owes them a debt of gratitude, not yet repaid even by the cheapest flatteries of fame.

A. D. 1549. Apostleship of Xavier.

In the following year, a new league was formed against Malacca. Aladdin, the king of Johore, gathered around him the princes of the neighbouring Malay states, and, joined by a fleet equipped by the warlike queen of Japara in Java, clung to the attempt until famine and slaughter compelled him to retreat, with the loss of his best and bravest friend the Laksimana and of his heroic son-in-law. This victory of the Portuguese gained them a few years of peace; but the prince of Achin died, and a new prince and a new enemy ascended the throne of that country. He had, how-

A. D. 1550. Triumph of the Portuguese. A. D. 1556.

ever, witnessed the defeat of his predecessors, and hesitated to renew an endeavour fraught with danger and little encouraged by hope.

Transactions in the Spice Islands.

In the Molucca group the changing tide of affairs was ebbing and flowing under the influence of an inconstant fortune. The governor, Deca, continued, with consistent policy, the succession of tyrants that had gradually ravished the independence of the native states. Chief after chief, incurring the capricious jealousy of the European usurper, was exiled or put to death. Another prince of Ternate, after a short enjoyment of the dignity, by the slender tenure of his master's favour, was seized, manacled, and imprisoned. The people of the island, who patiently suffered their personal wrongs, revolted at this challenge to their loyalty, and a general insurrection took place throughout the group. It continued, with varying fortune, until the

A. D. 1559.

governor in 1559 yielding to fear, released and restored the dethroned and captive prince. Tranquillity once more settled upon the Moluccas, for the peace of the conqueror's dominions there was never broken, except when their own despotism or rapacity raised the passions of a humble and submissive people. Throughout this period the distraction of the Archipelago was occasioned by small events, portentous then, in the narrow circle of Indian politics, but wholly uninteresting now, and worthy of record only in the barren tables of the chronologer. The Portuguese, in the prosecution of their mean and tortuous policy, struggled incessantly with danger, and were perpetually entangled among obstacles of their own creation. Their trade, indeed, increased, and promised to repay them the cost of their adventures, but nothing could atone for the lavish effusion of blood, and the reckless exercise of tyranny which every year made new enemies to be encountered, and

more subjects to be coerced. Among the native states at the same time, the fortune of princes and people revolved in a circle, one despot falling to open the way for another, the ignorant and slavish multitudes, continually discovering the folly of trusting in a master's faith, yet never dreaming of retaining their birthright, or exercising the power which was their own.

General succession of events.

It was about this period, that Spain, recovered a little from the prostration of her long decline, again displayed her flag among the waters of the further East, and claimed a share of influence in those magnificent regions. Her views were fixed on the Philippines, whose productions were by no means of that rare or precious description, which has tempted the avarice of all the civilised world to the plunder of the unrivalled East. No rich spices, no precious gums, no abundance of rare metals or drugs, were there to allure her cupidity; but there was a fertile soil, a genial climate, and a race of inhabitants, hospitable, credulous and simple. Probably the comparative poverty of the Philippines was unknown to the navigators of those early days, who confounded under a general description the stately islands of the Indian Ocean, and attributed to them, in their sanguine fancy, a fabulous splendour and wealth. The Spaniards, nevertheless, appear to have been guided in their plans of colonisation — at least in India — by a theory which nations still more great, and infinitely more free, might have adopted with advantage to themselves and to all humanity. They were not sordid monopolists; they ruled less by terror, and more by moral influence and the persuasions of their priests; and their power, not founded on the edge of the sword, was tolerable to the native race. They encouraged settlements; they allowed freedom to traffic; and though they levied unjust and irksome taxes, their

A. D. 1565. Revival of the Spanish power.

The Philippines.

Spanish policy.

system has been productive, within its narrow sphere, of more good than that of other conquerors in the Oriental Archipelago. That their commerce in the further East never developed itself to any lustre or grandeur, is true; but it was because their monopoly was less rigid, not because their vigour was less manly than that of the Dutch. Had Spain been more energetic, and still more liberal, her prosperity in the Indian Archipelago might have rivalled that which she once enjoyed in the Western World. Had Holland accepted the philosophy of trade, her commerce, instead of being forced to an unnatural growth, displaying a false brilliance for a period, and then sinking into a premature decay, might have flourished for centuries with an increase at once rapid and steady, to reach its limits only when it had measured the full resources of the further East.

Dutch policy.

Forty years after the discovery of the Philippines by the unfortunate Magellan, Spain equipped an expedition to conquer them. On the 21st of November 1564, an expedition consisting of two large and two small vessels, with an armament of four hundred men, left Europe. It was accompanied by Andres de Milaneta, a Roman Catholic missionary, who had abandoned the military for the sacerdotal profession, and brought with him five Augustine friars, to convert the islanders to the Christian religion. He had served in the Indian Archipelago, and was well versed in natural science. Miguel Lopez de Legaspi, a Spaniard of aristocratic family, was commander. He was a man of considerable capacity, and had already displayed his aptitude for service in new countries, where conquest and colonisation were to go hand in hand, in the course of a long career in America. Thus prepared with military and religious leaders, the equipment was rendered complete by the addition of an

Expedition to conquer the Philippines.

Indian interpreter, who had been carried to Spain in the ship abandoned by the unhappy Villalobos.

The voyage.

When they had been a month at sea, the smallest of the vessels — whether accidentally or otherwise — became separated from the rest, and sailed on to Mindanao alone. There loading with spices and gold, she did not await the arrival of the squadron, but steering through an unusual track, returned to New Spain. Legaspi, pursuing the route indicated in his instructions, reached on the 8th of January 1565, an island where the people wore long beards, so unusual among the natives of the New World. Thence he named it Barbadoes. On the 22nd they reached the Ladrones, or Isles of Thieves — since called the Marianas. On the 13th of February they sighted the Philippines, and sailed to the southern isle of Bohol, between the extremities of Zebu and Leyte, where the people fled to their hills. They succeeded in attracting them from their places of refuge by conciliatory gestures. They brought down plentiful supplies of provisions, which were purchased at a just price, and the most amicable intercourse commenced. The natives were generous and friendly; the Europeans liberal and prudent. Legaspi, being hospitably welcomed by a chief of the island, entered into a treaty with him. The convention was ratified by each of the contractors drinking blood drawn from the other's arm, and the Spaniards were then munificently entertained. When they had enjoyed the festivities of Bohol, they sailed to Zebu, where the chief, with his forces collected on the shore, opposed their landing.[1]

Arrival in the group.

Treaties with the chiefs.

Declaration of conquest.

Legaspi then declared that he had come to conquer the island in retaliation of the treachery practised upon Magellan and his companions forty-four years before.

[1] Walton, *Preliminary Discourse*. 21.

Had no such pretence existed his purpose would have been the same, for he had been charged not to avenge the name of Spain, but to add the Philippines to her dominions. Still the fate of the great navigator formed a plausible ground for his pretensions, to which the hostile attitude of the Zebuan chief afforded a still more complete justification. The Spanish commander understood the method of warfare most convenient and efficacious against such a foe. The race, which he was now employed to subdue, was not, however, a horde of savages, hurried on to the defence of their soil by the promptings of an impulsive valour, but easily routed, and with a spirit to be broken by a blow. It was a nation scattered in countless small tribes of from fifty to a hundred families, each with its own chief, but all united by a common solicitude for the independence of their inherited lands.

State of the population.

Primitive institutions.

This patriarchal system, — occasionally divided as it was by the feuds of unappeaseable private enemies, — favoured the existence of the Spanish dominion, when once established, since it prevented formidable combinations of force. At the same time it obstructed their great schemes of conquest, as a thousand petty enemies, animated by one spirit, though fighting under as many leaders, were to be defeated in a thousand petty conflicts, wasteful of life and fruitless of renown. The Islanders—Papuan, Malay, or Angolan—were wild and hardy men, subsisting on bulbous roots, or the spoils of the chase, and retreating into their impenetrable woods and other natural strongholds, as the civilised enemy settled on the coast lands. The Tagala, who dwelt in the district round about Manila, and are derived, according to their traditions, from the Malays, have submitted thoroughly to their rule, and become the servants

Wild races.

of strangers. Tagal and slave are synonymous terms in the Archipelago.

The state of morals among that rude people, at this early period of their history, was superior to that of most savage races: but their religion was a wild, mysterious idea, scarcely defined into a creed, which claimed the adoration of the simple barbarian for all that was awful in aspect, or strange to his comprehension. Idols and temples they had none; but erected green bowers, where a priestess sacrificed the hog and dedicated the oblation of its blood to the infernal gods or the souls of the sacred dead. All natural objects of extraordinary size or form were and are still among the unconverted tribes supposed to be the dwellings of invisible divinity. Some mighty spiritual power, nameless and immortal, haunted the air, and revealed its presence in darkness by the influence of terror upon the savage mind. In the course of years, however, the Muslim faith blended itself with the incoherent belief of the islanders, though when Legaspi commenced his campaign, their primitive religion remained untainted by the introduction of a foreign creed.

Their religion.

The Zebuans appeared firm in the defence of their independence; but were driven from their position by a body of men landed in good order from the ships. The Spaniards marched on a considerable town to which they were directed, and found it in flames, stripped of all its barbarous wealth. From that day a series of petty conflicts was maintained, although Legaspi carried on continual negotiations with the principal chief, to induce his consent to an amicable intercourse. In consideration of his submission, he declared Magellan's death to be forgotten and forgiven; but the Indians had sounded the depths of European faith, and continued to harass their invaders. Legaspi had a tent

Success of the Spaniards.

pitched on shore, ordered the erection of a fortress, and exhorted all his men to labour for the advancement of the Spanish name.[1] To emulate the achievements of the numerous conquerors in the New World, although on a narrower field, appeared to him the taste fit for an exalted ambition. The zeal, however, which inspires the leader of a great enterprise, often fails to penetrate the inferior ranks, partly perhaps because these perceive that the labour is for them, while the reward is for others. Florid eulogies and flattering harangues, often, nevertheless, fire whole armies with ambition, and the heart of every soldier leaps as though his was to be the name associated with every heroic achievement of the day; but one name is often all that is remembered, when the piles of carnage are covered with earth, and the clouds and dust of battle have dispersed. It was not so in this instance. The followers of Legaspi, associating no ideas of patriotism with their task in the Philippines, laboured reluctantly to establish the influence of Spain, under the orders of their half-military, half-missionary leader. Murmurs were succeeded by mutiny. Severe examples were made of a few, and the rest of the malcontents were sent to Europe in the flag ship, which sailed the first of June 1565, with a report of progress, and solicitations for further aid from the imperial government.

First settlement in the Philippines.

On the next day the chief, who had despised the overtures made to him, was compelled to seek terms, and meeting Legaspi in formal conference, tendered his homage to Spain, promised to bring down supplies, and granted land for the site of a town and fort, which the Spanish admiral named San Miguel in honour of himself. This was the first European settlement in the

[1] Crawfurd, ii. 453.

Philippines.[1] Induced by the submission of their chief leader, the inhabitants gradually left their mountain retreats, descended on the plains, spread along the shore, and lived on terms of peace with their visitors. Their rude industrial occupations were resumed. These were principally rural; but the famine which followed the arrival of the Spaniards vividly illustrates the condition of Zebu at that period. So little progress had been made in agriculture, that this little influx of population produced a scarcity which was at intervals relieved by scanty supplies from the neighbouring islands; sometimes procured by traffic, but more frequently as the prize of successful war.

Submission of the people.

For the Spaniards joined in alliance with their Zebu friends and constructed light gallies, fitted for the navigation of shallow seas, attacked the hostile towns, and captured their stores of provision. Still, scarcity continued to increase, although the natives of Luzon sailed over in a fleet of prahus, with two hundred baskets of rice. Parties were constantly sent out to gain knowledge of the movements taking place among the neighbouring islanders. Scout boats continually departed and arrived with intelligence. Some of the population were found anxious for friendly intercourse with the Europeans. Others had swept all the means of subsistence from the plains into their places of ambush among the hills, whence they hoped to enjoy the spectacle of the Spaniards driven by famine from the Philippine group — to carry their arms, their merchandize, and their religion elsewhere.

Progress of the conquest.

Characteristics of sea warfare.

Still the wealth of the islands was so envied, that danger and difficulty seemed more to enhance than damp the spirit of enterprise among the leading Spanish

[1] Charlevoix, *Histoire du Japon.*

adventurers. They had been reduced to a state of famine, and were desperately pressed when a vessel from New Spain arrived with provisions and supplies. The ship with the mutinous sailors had safely reached Mexico, when the solicitations of its captain had procured this assistance for the expedition at the Philippines. On board this vessel, bound on its mission of succour to an exhausted settlement, in the weakness of infancy, some bloody scenes of mutiny had occurred, but her arrival was as welcome as a burst of sunshine after a long night of storms.

Collection of gold.

It was now considered politic to send to New Spain for the profit of king Philip, and as an encouragement to his project of colonisation, a small cargo of precious merchandise. With this view a galley sailed to Mindanao to collect gold and cinnamon, with pitch for the careening of the squadron. There the first great disaster of Legaspi's expedition occurred. The islanders attacked the party, and massacred every man. In a general sense, nevertheless, the Spaniards were singularly fortunate, and their settlements were established in the Philippines with unusual facility, and encouraging prospects of success.

Massacre of a crew.

General good fortune of the Spaniards.

Jealousy of Portugal.

The Portuguese viewed with undisguised jealousy these movements of their neighbours in Europe and their rivals in the East. Their selfishness was alarmed by every attempt of another nation to introduce its flag among the Indian waters. They endeavoured, now by force, now by intrigue, to repel the intruding influence, and secure a monopoly of intercourse with the rich countries of the further East. Still their energies were unequal to the first, and in the second the Spaniards were their worthy rivals. Other enemies also were busy in other directions. Mansur Shah, from the Malay state of Perah in the Peninsula, ascended the

Rivalry.

Hostile princes of the East.

throne of Achin, combined his forces with a league among the provinces of Western India, and equipped an expedition for the subjugation of Malacca. To inspire the Portuguese with a false sense of security, he pretended his armament was preparing to invade Java, and sent them a poignard as a present, with a complimentary letter. During the passage of the straits, he resorted to another device. A man fled to shore from the fleet, as though escaping from punishment, to mislead the Europeans with respect to the king's design. But the craft of his enemy was equal to his own. The fugitive was arrested, tortured, and forced in the agony of the rack to confess himself a spy. The unhappy wretch was then put to death, and his carcase, horribly mutilated, sent as a reply to the letter of the Achinese prince.

Stratagems of the Malays.

The enemy then discovered his purpose, laid siege to Malacca, and put to a stern trial the valour of its garrison. Defeated at length, after a long series of conflicts, he retreated and left the sea beneath the walls floating with the dead.[1] An immense waste of human life accompanied these unavailing efforts of barbarian valour; but the Achinese monarch would have spent all the blood in his kingdom to enjoy the pride of a triumph over the Portuguese. In the following year he proceeded himself with another large armament to renew the struggle; but was overthrown in a sanguinary engagement, with the loss of his eldest son, and four thousand men.

Attack on Malacca.

Slaughter of his army.

Prodigal waste of blood. A. D. 1568.

From a series of intermittent conflicts, the contest now grew into a war incessantly carried on. A vessel sailing from Japara, with an envoy to Achin, was captured by the Portuguese, who massacred the whole of her

Exasperation of the enemy.

[1] Marsden, *Hist. of Sumatra*, qu. Diego do Conto; Faria y Sarsa, 350.

A. D. 1569. crew.[1] Hostilities followed, thick and fast. Another twelve months had not revolved before an Achinese fleet was again equipped to attack Malacca, but was scattered with disgrace by a single man of war. Nor did this disaster break the spirit of the enemy. In 1571 he fitted out another fleet, which was defeated by a Portuguese squadron with infinite slaughter.

Another fleet destroyed.

A. D. 1571.

And another.

While enjoying this success on the western borders of the Archipelago, the Portuguese pursued in the Moluccas that policy of coercion which had excited so many insurrections. The governor, under pretence of a friendly conference with the restored king of Ternate, assassinated him, and refused his friends the consolation of receiving his body for burial, with the simple rites of their religion. To perfect by a last refinement the cruel act, he ordered the corpse to be mangled, hewn in pieces, and then tossed into the sea.

Policy of the Portuguese in the Spice Islands.

An act of assassination. [A. D. 1570.]

To revenge his father's murder as well as the indignity inflicted on his remains, Baber, the king's son, collected the islanders under his flag, retired to the mountains, and thence made frequent irruptions upon the Portuguese settlement. This warfare was more harassing than destructive. The young prince displayed considerable prudence in his plans of action, refusing to meet a superior enemy in the open field, but scattering his forces in small bands, sent them to attack the settlement at different points, suddenly appearing, suddenly retreating, but never exposing themselves to the arms of any formidable body. Irritated into imprudence by this annoying warfare the Portuguese frequently followed the enemy into his stronghold, and suffered severely in the rash adventure.

Revolt to avenge it.

[1] Marsden, *Hist. of Sumatra*, 350.

CHAPTER. VII.

Feeble policy of the Portuguese.

PORTUGAL, jealous to excess when the rivalry of any European state appeared to threaten her monopoly of commerce in the Indian Archipelago, neglected, nevertheless, the colonies, which alone could render it secure. The settlement she had established, needed at first to be liberally supplied with arms and stores, while the perpetual war that raged beyond the line required a formidable squadron continually to patrol the seas of the New World. But while at the court of Lisbon the glory of an empire in the East was conspicuous in the royal dreams of ambition, feeble and desultory efforts were made to resist an invasion of the rights conferred by the sovereign authority of Rome. In the Moluccas the Portuguese were inflamed by an intense animosity against their Spanish rivals in the Philippines; but their hostility was displayed in no active operations. A letter was despatched to the Spanish governor, expressing a hope that the occupation of the islands was only temporary. Legaspi returned an evasive answer; but prepared for contingencies by despatching a ship to New Spain for reinforcement and relief. In little more than two months the required aid arrived. The Portuguese commander however did not make his appearance for forty days, and even then without any hostile demonstration. Each was probably fearful of the other. The rival colonists, therefore, though burning with bitter animosity, mutually occupied themselves in endeavouring to ascertain whether the settlement of the

Prerogatives usurped by Rome.

European rivalry. [A. D. 1567.]

Negotiations.

Spaniards in the Philippines were actually in opposition to the declaration in the Papal Bull.

Spanish plans of conquest.

This moderation was indicative of nothing but weakness. Legaspi, paying no attention to the diplomatic protests of the Portuguese, occupied himself in extending the dominion he had planted here, at the northern extremity of the Indian Archipelago. The island, originally chosen for conquest, was too narrow for his ambition.

Mission to Panay.

Philip de Salcedo was therefore despatched to prepare a spot for settlement on Panay, another fertile and picturesque island. He was welcomed by the natives with a warm hospitality, frequently given by the unsophisticated savage to a strange visitor. In all cases, except at Zebu, the Spaniards were offered the opportunity of friendship and peace, which they frequently destroyed in their thankless spirit of cupidity. The inhabitants of Panay were grateful to the Europeans who assisted them in their wars with more powerful

Expedition to found a settlement.

communities. A hardy band of settlers was sent to Masbate, a small island, undistinguished by any peculiar features of fertility or beauty, which lies opposite the Benardino Strait, at the south-eastern entrance to the group. A garrison was also left at Zebu. Thus the authority of the Spanish nation gradually spread through the Philippines, unopposed by a simple and friendly race of people. Supplies of stores and provisions, with a company of friars, arrived from Acalpulco, and the colony promised to thrive under every favourable auspice. The chief of Zebu, who at first was hostile to the invaders of the group, now yielded to

Baptism of the natives.

them an unconditional allegiance. Observing how powerful and kind the Christians were, he consented to be baptized by the royal name of Philip, and numbers of his followers also embraced the cross.

Two years later the Spaniards felt their ambition again expand, and looked from Panay [1] to another seat for colonisation, to be the metropolis of their empire in the Indian Archipelago. The island of Luzon, with its fertile soil, and attractive aspect, tempted their desires.[2] It is the largest of the group, and the best known to Europeans. Long and narrow — four hundred and fifty miles by from ten to a hundred and forty — its coast is fringed with rocks and broken by many gulfs, inlets, and capacious bays. The surface is covered through a large portion of its extent by mountains — two high ranges in the north being divided by the Cagayar river, which flows between two headlands into the sea.

A. D. 1569. New places of colonisation.

Luzon, or Luconia.

Sketch.

In all respects Luzon appeared a desirable field for colonisation, and the Spanish settlers now considered themselves equal to its subjugation. Legaspi had deputed the inferior enterprises to his captains, but resolved to watch in person the conduct of this adventure. He sailed from the old fort at Zebu, and touched by the way at Panay, where the people gave him a hospitable reception. The governor remained here a short time, to overlook the erection of the forts which were to throw their shadow over the independence of the island, or to check the encroachments of the Portuguese, and defend the coasts from certain pirates of Jolo and Borneo, who had acquired an infamous reputation among these islands. They had already captured a Spanish vessel and her crew, and had attacked, though without success, the garrison of Zebu. Thus, even in those early periods, were the freebooters formidable to European commerce, as well as to the multitude of native traders that floated from shore to shore in the

Its advantages.

Expedition to it.

Pirates of the Philippines.

[1] Crawfurd, ii. 453.

[2] Walton, *Preliminary Discourse*, 22.

Spaniards attack them.

frail barques of their own construction. In January 1570, Juan Salcedo attacked the pirate town of Manchura in Mindoro, captured it, and compelled the inhabitants to redeem their liberty with a handsome ransom in gold. The buccaneers retreated and entrenched themselves in the islet of Luban; but the Spanish captain pursued, assaulted, and again mulcted them to a considerable amount.

Expedition to Manilla.

In May 1670, an expedition left Panay for Manilla. It was divided into two sections, one to conclude a treaty with the dwellers on the shores of the lake Barbon, and the other to attack a town situated further up on the north-western coast. The first division was received with hostilities, and the leader wounded with an arrow. Failing to effect his purpose, he proceeded to

The town.

join the other invading troop. The town they were about to assault was situated at the mouth of the river Pasing, which pours the superabundant waters of the

Present aspect.

great lake Baye into the sea. In front swept the splendid bay, ninety miles from horn to horn, bordered by a picturesque and fruitful country, now sprinkled with villages, villas, groves, and gardens, and adorned by the Spanish town Manilla. The chiefs of the territory sent to proffer terms of peace; but the hollowness of these was either discovered or pretended, and the natives were summoned to the defence of their fortified position at

Native use of artillery.

the mouth of the river. They now turned against the Spaniards the engines which they had at first believed to be the arms of God. A volley of artillery was discharged upon the ships, and some Spaniards who went on shore were cut to pieces.

Storming of the defences.

Eighty men then landed, stormed the walls, and drove their defenders out. Expelled from their outworks, they fled to the town, set it on fire, and retreated among the interior hills, rejoiced at having damped in some

degree the triumph of the Europeans. Several large cannon were captured, though the foundry was burned. This must be regretted, as the examination of a cannon foundry constructed at that early period by the native artificers of Luzon, could not have failed to lead to interesting results.

The Spaniards, although thus far successful, saw that with the few troops they had collected, it would be impossible to defend themselves agaist the swarms of enemies who might be expected to descend upon them from the hills. Delaying, therefore, only so long as was neccssary to careen their ships, they sailed back to Panay. There they met three vessels from New Spain plentifully stored, bearing despatches from Philip II. That sovereign, delighted with Legaspi's plans and conduct, created him President of the Philippine islands, and directed the distribution of land among the most meritorious of those who had contributed to his success. Encouraged by these favours, the President despatched two ships to Acalpulco with cargoes of costly merchandize, and then proceeding to Zebu, constituted the town there a city, with a municipal establishment. The erection of fortifications was diligently carried on, and other means were adopted for the efficient defence and proper government of the colony.[1]

Caution of the Spaniards.

Thence returning to Panay, he prepared the expedition for the final capture of Manilla and the subjugation of Luzon. The vessels sailed on the 15th of April 1571. At the islet Latunga they touched for a muster of the troops, who numbered two hundred and eighty. With this force Legaspi proceeded to the execution of his project, visiting Mindoro by the way, and imposing a formal tribute on the people. On this coast

New expedition to Luzon.

[1] Walton, *Preliminary Discourse*, 26.

he fell in with one of those unwieldy junks of China, which have carried the enterprise of that curious empire through all the channels of the Twelve Thousand Islands. The vessel was in imminent danger of wreck when the Spaniards saw her and afforded her effectual succour. The incident alone would not claim a notice among the historical episodes of the Archipelago; but it is sufficiently important, because China thus became first acquainted with Spain, through the humanity of her earliest colonists. The chronicles of Spanish conquest would have worn a different colour, had men like Legaspi held the helm throughout. He was a man of ability and prudence. His humanity and judgment inclined him to prefer, and his skill enabled him to prosecute, a bloodless conquest, in many instances where the Dutch or Portuguese would have met the natives at the sword's point, and hewed them down with wanton and unsparing slaughter. No scruples of territorial right, indeed, induced any pause in his scheme of conquest; but in recognising the right which civilisation has assumed to itself of setting aside the prescriptive titles enjoyed by the original possessors of any land, he obeyed only the political spirit of the age.

First intercourse with China.

Pleasant incident.

The squadron entered the river of Manilla without any demonstration of a hostile purpose. The inhabitants, nevertheless, anticipating only a merciless assault, set the town on fire and fled. It appeared dangerous to confide in the humanity, and hopeless to resist the arms of the invader. The Spaniards landed, took possession of the place, and prepared for its permanent occupation. Ingenious devices were adopted to induce the natives to return and people the new city, whose site was already marked out. They listened to the promises of peace, yielded to the cajolements of their

Capture of Manilla.

Submission of the inhabitants.

strange visitors, and came down with their chiefs to acknowledge the sovereignty of Spain.

Character of this policy.

Viewed by the light of modern theories, these transactions appear to deserve enumeration among the achievements of piracy. Luzon had never sent forth any marauders to attack the Spanish settlements; her inhabitants had never seized any shipping, or insulted the conqueror's flag. A force was landed, the country was declared annexed, and the people were summoned to yield up their independence without so much as the pretence of an excuse. With the navigators of those days, discovery gave the right of conquest, as power in all times appears to have given the right of oppression. The example of William Penn was among the first recognitions of a title in the savage possessors of the soil [1], but since that period opinions have passed through a filtering process, and we apply the rules of justice to acts of territorial extension on the part of states, as to those of appropriation on the part of private individuals. The conquests of the Spaniards, considered from another point of view, were beneficial to the Indian tribes. That they afterwards ceased to be so [2], was because the successors of Legaspi departed from the line of policy his wisdom had traced out. He preferred peace before war, commercial treaties before the victories of the sword, and endeavoured to uphold his authority by other means than those of coercion. With his soldiers he brought priests to subdue the people under the powerful yoke of the Roman Church. By the influence of religion, and by the influence, equally gentle, of a mild and manly conduct, Legaspi established a colony

Right of conquest.

Introduction of priests.

[1] See the remarkable picture of this transaction by the accomplished pen of Hepworth Dixon — among the first of living biographers.

[2] Brooke, *Borneo and Celebes.*

which appeared the natural capital of Spanish dominion in the East.

A. D. 1571. Foundation of Manilla.

The erection of a city [1] with a fort, a palace, a church and a convent, formed the first labours of the Spaniards after their peaceful settlement in Luzon. The event was commemorated on the 15th of May by a solemn festival and ceremonial rites. The conquest and colonisation of Manilla may be considered as the foundation of a power which has flourished ever since, through various vicissitudes of fortune. At one period it rose to wealth and splendour, but now, in diminished importance, possesses an equivocal tenure on a few islands to support a decaying trade.

Fluctuations of the Spanish power.

Prolonged resistance of the islanders.

Nevertheless, the conquest of Luzon was not altogether effected by the arts of peace. Some chiefs of the island, fired with a pride of independence, endeavoured to rouse the people by representing the shame of submission to a foreign flag. Two of the principal equipped a fleet of forty prahus, and sailed to the Bay of Bananay. There they received the ambassadors from Manilla, with an insulting and derisive invitation to a trial of arms. The challenge was accepted. A small squadron of light galleys sailed out, encountered the native fleet, and was victorious in a bloody engagement. The Indian leader was killed by a musket ball, and numerous prisoners were taken. These were kindly treated and sent back to their friends. The courage of the Spaniards in battle, and their moderation in the use of victory, were so successful in mollifying the hearts of the natives, that several chiefs, hitherto unsubdued, offered their voluntary homage.

Action at sea.

Method of conquest.

Companies of soldiers were sent among the hills to reduce the warlike tribes who refused submission.

[1] Crawfurd, ii. 454.

Some resisted to the utmost, and were overcome with considerable loss of life, others surrendered to the solicitations of a pious Augustine friar, who walked in the van of the troops. Gradually all the provinces near the capital were compelled or persuaded to submit, and large tracts of land were allotted in rewards to the men who had chiefly aided in the undertaking. The revenue from a capitation tax on the natives was reserved as booty for the King of Spain.

Result of an adventure with Chinese traders at sea.

At this period occurred an incident illustrating the fortunate influence of the conciliatory policy pursued by the Spaniards during the youth of their dominion in the Philippines. They had saved some Chinese from shipwreck off the coast of Mindoro. These Chinese carried home an account of their happy rescue by the Europeans, and now, in 1572, arrived with a cargo of merchandise from their own country. Thus an act of kindness was the germ of a commerce which might have grown to magnificent dimensions had Legaspi's policy been inherited by his successors. The Acalpulco trade was now commenced, and the conversion of the Chinese empire projected.

A. D. 1572.

Opening of a new trade.

Expedition round Luzon.

In May, 1572, Juan Salcedo commenced making the circuit of the island. Starting on the north-eastern coast at Cape Bolinac he fell in with a Chinese junk, whose crew had seized a chief of Luzon, with some of his people, and intended carrying them to China. Impartial in his spirit of justice he released the Indians, and by this simple act subdued the people of the neighbouring district. In many of the towns his reception was friendly. At Bixon he planted a colony of twenty-five men, and erected a little fort. Thence he returned round the southern shore to Manilla, where he received news that his relative Legaspi was dead. This was a loss to Spain. From his decease may be dated the

Little settlements.

decline of her character among the races of the Archipelago. For a brief period, indeed, Salcedo continued his plans of action, and founded the city of Santiago de Libon on the shore of a hilly province on the north-east coast. The Augustine friars, who continually arrived from Mexico, were entrusted with the charge of districts, as the Jesuits were in California, and their influence was considerable in maintaining peace among the people, and nourishing the infant civilisation of the island. The Spaniards never opened a course of conquest in a more politic or successful manner.

A. D. 1573. Enterprise in Borneo.

To extend the trading relations of their colony they sent an expedition to Bruné, the only kingdom then known in the immense island of Borneo. The monarch of that barbarous state refused to enter into any convention with his Spanish visitors, and dismissed them as they came.[1]

Precarious situation of the Portuguese.

Their successes in the Philippines, where they were exposed to no hostility external to the group, threatened to eclipse the brilliancy of the Portuguese triumphs in the west of the Archipelago. The conquerors of Malacca were surrounded by enemies, whom all their vigour was required to repel. Though generally victorious their energies were wasted, not in acquiring new territories, but in defending their first acquisitions. In 1572, the King of Achin, maintaining his league with the little potentates of Western India, raised a new army, and again besieged Malacca. Driven with disgrace from its walls he renewed the attempt in the following year, in alliance with the Queen of Japara.

A. D. 1573.

Slaughter before Malacca. A. D. 1574.

The air round the city was corrupted by the vast heaps of dead which he left to fester beneath its battlements.[2] In the course of another twelve months the

[1] Zuniga, *Historical View of the Philippines*, i. 160.

[2] Marsden, *History of Sumatra*, 351.

martial Javanese princess with a large army and a fleet of forty-five war prahus assaulted Malacca, maintained a siege of three months, and only retired before the desperate valour of the garrison. This triumph of the Portuguese had nearly been their last, leading in, as it did, a greater danger than they had known before. In 1575, the inveterate prince of Achin, unconquered by defeat, and undismayed by failure, again drained the resources of his kingdom to carry on the contest with a power he hated and feared. The fleet is described as covering the whole straits, and three frigates, it is related, were destroyed by the simultaneous assault of this immense armada. The city was defended by no more than 150 men. Driven to the last push of extremity, they were reserving their ammunition for a forlorn struggle. The enemy construed their mysterious silence into the preparation of some portentous device of war. They trembled under the ominous pause. Suddenly they became infected with a general panic, and after a siege of seventeen days, broke up their camp at the moment when the Portuguese were about to stake their safety in a last frantic struggle. The Achinese fled with precipitation[1], and Malacca was probably saved from utter sack and ruin; for had Mansur Shah, armed with hereditary hatred of his European foe, succeeded in penetrating their defences, not one soul had escaped the edge of his vindictive sword.

A.D. 1575.

Immense Indian armament.

Panic in the native army.

Achin was now among the most formidable powers of the remote East. The most distant countries of Asia sought its alliance. A liberal commercial policy had crowded its port with a lucrative trade. Vessels from Mecca on the west, and Japan on the east, came with the products of their soil for sale or barter. The

Power of the kingdom of Achin.

[1] Marsden, *History of Sumatra*, 351.

interior condition of the country was flourishing, but the people were, of course, oppressed, since if the king was not in the enjoyment of absolute power, his authority was only checked by the jealousy of a proud and profligate body of nobles. These, the feudal lords of Achin, possessed fortified castles in the city, and kept the population in awe by a display of shotted cannon and ranks of well-armed guards. They readily countenanced the king in his designs against the Portuguese, shared in the spoil of the people's substance, but in the true spirit of an oligarchy resisted the attempts to burden their wealth with duties that could more easily be wrung from the poverty of the laborious classes. Occasionally the king came into collision with his nobility, and was usually overthrown by the shock. It was during the preparation of a new expedition against Malacca that one of those revolutions occurred with the features common to such dramas in Asiatic countries. The Portuguese were thus relieved, for a while, of this fresh danger; but they were never safe from the implacable enmity of Achin. Their power in all parts of the Archipelago rested on a frail foundation, and trembled under every breath of war. An enemy which menaced the Spaniards in the Philippines also menaced them.

Feudal institutions.

Curious politics. A.D. 1574.

The planting of the Spanish settlements within three days' sail of the Celestial Empire was the source of no small alarm on that continent. The emperor looked with a timid eye on the progress of a nation whom his barbarian vanity included among the savage races of the earth. From a period whose date is lost in the uncertainty of tradition, the traders of China had carried on an intercourse with the Indian Archipelago. Native records alone point to the commencement of a series of enterprises continued to this day by the

Alarm of the Chinese emperor.

Chinese enterprises.

shrewd and cautious merchants of that ancient empire. They visited Java, it is known, in the ninth century, and it is the opinion of one of the ablest and most distinguished authorities on all subjects connected with the Archipelago [1], that their voyages extended to Borneo at a far remoter date, even before the foundation of the Malay kingdom at Bruné. In the thirteenth century this intercourse wore all the appearance of long establishment, notwithstanding the idea of one historian that, previous to the voyage of Marco Polo, it was neither active nor important. The narrative of the Venetian traveller who penetrated into those distant regions long before De Gama had opened their gates to the traders of Europe, deserves attention, especially since it has been elucidated by the learned historian of Sumatra.[2] We there find accounts of the Chinese adventurers among the Indian islands, which suggest no idea of an infant intercourse; following him, was the Arabian traveller of the fourteenth century [3], whose relation corroborates his. Evidence indeed, too convincing to be doubted, too abundant to be detailed here, has been accumulated by a learned and laborious writer [4], which proves that long before an European settlement was established in the Archipelago, its marts were visited by regular traders from China, exchanging the products of that empire for the luxuries supplied by the islands. The pepper, camphor, and gold of Borneo furnished the palaces of Pekin and ministered to the tastes of the opulent epicures, celebrated for

Adventurous character of that people.

Their trade with Brune.

[1] J. R. Logan, *Journal of Indian Archipelago*, ii. 611.

[2] Marsden, edition of Marco Polo.

[3] Ibn Batuta, *De l'Archipel d'Asie*, trans. Du Laurier.

[4] J. R. Logan, *Antiquity of the Chinese Trade with India and the Indian Archipelago, J. Ind. Arch.* ii. 663.

their attachment to spices, perfumes, and dazzling ornaments.

Visits to the Philippines.

In their annual voyages between Java or Borneo, and their own coasts, the Chinese fell in frequently with the Philippines and opened a trade with them. Some of their annalists pretend that the group was originally colonised from the Empire. Such traditions deserve inquiry; they belong, however, to the antiquarians of history. Whether or not the Philippines were peopled from China or from any of the regions lying between that and Hindustan, they were at an early period visited by its merchants. Enterprising, ambitious, crafty, but headlong in their pursuit of fortune, the Chinese speedily threatened to become formidable opponents to the foundation in that quarter of the Eastern seas of a Spanish authority; an authority which they viewed as an encroachment on their own. The other enemies of the new power, divided, scattered, held in check by terror, almost relinquished the struggle for independence on their native soil. The Spaniards settled in peace on the rich coast-provinces, although they never succeeded in quenching the unconquerable spirit, in subduing the energy, or softening the hatred, of some more bold and savage tribes who scorned the humbler race that had submitted itself to the white men's yoke. They retreated to their haunts amid woods and hills, swamps and rocky valleys, where they defended an independence which they could never be persuaded or compelled to yield. In spite of their hostility the Spaniards consolidated their plans of colonisation, and were only alarmed by the turbulent population of Chinese, which soon grew up under their flag.

Rise of a Chinese colony.

Hostility of the islanders to Spain.

Success of Spanish policy.

A. D. 1574. The pirate Limahon.

In 1574 an enemy appeared on their coasts, of a novel and formidable character. This was the great rebel pirate Limahon, the terror in those days of all

the Indian waters, whose achievements were similar in audacity to those of his descendants at the present time, and his rivals among the Malay islanders. When the Spaniards captured Manilla, he viewed their arrival with awe; but receiving accounts of their riches and their weakness, conceived the idea of freighting his fleets with the spoils of the European merchants. His renown was so great, and his depredations had been so daring, that the Emperor of China, who indeed was comparatively a feeble potentate[1], equipped three squadrons to scour the neighbouring seas in search of him. Averse to an encounter with the imperial arms, he resolved to seek at once a new theatre for his predatory achievements, and steered wide of the China coast. A junk from Manilla laden with merchandize and bound for the continent, crossed his track; he seized it, and from the captain learned the situation of the Spaniards in their chief city.

His career.

His achievements.

Animated by the intelligence[2], he resolved to attack Manilla, though defended by the arts of European fortification. With sixty-two junks, manned by 2000 fighting men, besides great numbers of sailors, many pieces of artillery, and with 1500 women on board, he anchored in the bay, near an avenue leading to the city. His arrival took place in the dead of the night. Without clamour or confusion, this huge armament was disposed along the outer walls, while a Japanese chief, named Sioco, landed with 600 men, and commenced his march in silence towards Manilla. The darkness concealed them, and by dawn they were close to the fortifications, where a resident had his house outside. The guards were cut to pieces, and all the inmates of the dwelling put to death. Continuing to advance,

Resolves to attack Manilla.

His fleet.

Arrives by night.

Attack of the city.

[1] Duhalde, *China*, i.

[2] Crawfurd, ii. 458.

they encountered a body of Spanish troops, just raised to the defence of the city. An engagement took place; the Europeans fell on their enemies with infinite courage, but lost eight of their number, and were on the point of flight when another company of soldiers arrived in greater force. The Chinese were assaulted, considerable slaughter followed, and at length the pirate ranks were broken. Sioco, foreseeing no success that day, drew off his men, and took to the boats. All the city was now awake. Every chance of a surprise was gone, and the renewed attack was postponed until next morning.

The Spaniards alarmed.

Limahon retires.

Renewed assault.

Juan de Salcedo, the governor, was then in the maritime province of Ilocos, and saw Limahon's fleet pass by, not far from the shore. He lost no time in collecting his forces, and sailing to the rescue of his capital, reached the bay on the night after the attack. To deceive the Chinese into the belief that a large armament had arrived, he announced his arrival by flourishes of trumpets, salvoes of artillery, and the display of numerous lights, as though signals were passing from ship to ship along the line of a fleet. Limahon, in the meanwhile, steadily advanced his junks towards the city, and before day-break his armament was under the shadow of its fortification.[1]

Conflict in the city.

Sioco again landed with a large body of men, arranged in three divisions. One was to march along the principal street to the square, commanded by the fort, where he hoped a sortie would be made. Another was to skirt the beach, and the third he would himself lead up the river bank. The Chinese obeyed these orders well. They arrived in the square, throwing brands into the houses as they passed along. These quickly

[1] Walton, *Preliminary Discourse*, 28.

kindled the light bamboo edifices which then, as now [1], constituted the bulk of the habitations. They provoked the people by every device of outrage, and challenged them by expressions of defiance to sally forth, to leave their vantage ground behind batteries and walls, and engage the enemy hand to hand. The Spaniards were too wary. As their besiegers became more densely massed in the street and square, they discharged their great guns, sweeping down whole ranks, and making deadly havoc. Sioco, despairing of provoking a sortie, gave the signal of assault. The Chinese rushed forward. Their number and previous courage appeared to promise success. The palisade shook before their onset, and was overthrown. They poured in and approached the interior fortifications. Salcedo with reinforcements at this moment entered the square, broke their ranks from the rear, hewed a passage through them to the citadel, and there led such an attack upon the Chinese that they retired with precipitation towards the shore.

Flight of the pirates.

Limahon now entered the river with his junks. He saw his ranks flying under the fire of the Spaniards. All seemed lost. He sought to rally them through the impulse of despair, withdrew the vessels and left his pirate followers the alternative of plunging into the water, or checking their rout and recoiling to a second assault. They remained passive under the guns of the citadel, and he was compelled to land with 400 men by way of reinforcement. A few ships lying high and dry on the beach were burned, and Limahon prepared to sack that part of the town which was not already in flames. The valour of Salcedo disappointed him even of this triumph, and the humiliated buccaneer was driven to the refuge of his fleet. Sioco had fallen in

They rally.

They retreat to their junks.

[1] Alvarez y Tejero, *De Las Islas Filipinas*, qu. *Revue des Deux Mondes*.

Flight from Manilla.

the conflict, and numbers of the Chinese had shared his fate. Limahon, dispirited by the loss and disgrace that attended this catastrophe, sailed for the coast of Pangarinan, on the eastern side of the island, while the Spaniards, having defeated their enemy on Saint Andrew's day, ascribed their triumph to his favour, and celebrated it in an ovation at his shrine.

Cruelty of the buccaneers. Their place of refuge.

On his way to Pangarinan, Limahon landed at the mouth of a river and massacred a number of Indians who were hostile to his expedition. He then conversed with the chief of the province, and encamped on the banks of the Lingayen river.

A.D. 1575.

In March next year, Salcedo, leaving fifty Europeans in Manilla, led the remainder, thrice that number, with 1500 Indians, to attack the pirate encampment on the beautiful borders of the Lingayen. Limahon's junks, moored in the river, were easily captured. The troops assaulted the advanced works, burst through them, and committed terrible carnage among the Chinese, who retreated to the shelter of a grove. Thence they were driven to a fort, which had been erected as the citadel of their encampment. It was too lofty to scale, being constructed of tall palm trees, driven into the ground in close order, and presenting an appearance of far greater strength than it possessed. Salcedo ordered his men to form in a compact mass and rush against this imposing fortification. It gave way and fell before the shock. The pirates fled within their last entrenchment. There, with strange weakness, the Spaniards allowed them to rest, turning from the prosecution of their victory to the plunder of the camp.

They are followed by the Spaniards.

They are surrounded.

Limahon at once strengthened his defences, and rallying four hundred men, drove his enemies without the works; but was again forced back within his second line of palisades, which he successfully defended.

To spare the effusion of blood, and to husband his strength, Salcedo turned the siege into a blockade, and requested a friendly Chinese trader to open negotiations with a view to a peaceful arrangement. Limahon, accustomed perhaps to imperial treachery in China, replied that he knew he was looked upon as a savage tiger, to be caught at any risk, and refused to confide in the faith of his enemies.

With a tenderness for human life not too frequently displayed by the Europeans in their warlike intercourse with the islanders of the Indian Archipelago, Salcedo marked his line of circumvallation beyond range of the pirate's guns, and guarded the river to prevent their escape. Limahon was not to be subdued. He collected the fragments of his junks, built others from the wrecks, and then in the dead of night, employing all his men, cut by degrees a canal from the little estuary, which formed his prison, to the open part of the river, and withdrew with all his forces.[1] He is supposed, by some, to have led his men into the interior wilds, and founded the tribe of the Ingorots, whom the Spaniards afterwards persecuted for gold, with which their country abounded. Salcedo thus lost his triumph, but had succeeded in disarming a formidable enemy. The attack of the Chinese had incited the islanders to rebellion, and many ravages were committed. The revolt was, however, subdued through the influence of the missionaries, whose position was gradually becoming important. Several convents were now possessed by the numerous Augustine friars who were distributed over the island, and were aided in their labour of love by seventeen Franciscans. The colony progressed steadily in tranquility, under a vigorous administration

Ingenious device to escape.

Progress of Christianity.

[1] *Spanish Colonial History*, *Chin. Rep.* vii. 291.

of affairs. On the following year, when Salcedo died, Spain lost one of the most zealous and the most sagacious of her colonial servants. He conquered more by the influence of conciliatory acts than by arms; though, when an obstinate enemy presented himself, no man more readily engaged in war.[1]

Emigrants from China.

Following this enemy, an outcast from China, came streams of emigrants, who overflowed all the barriers that a barbarous despotism could erect to confine them, and, in spite of the timid spirit which opposed their entrance, settled down in swarms among the Philippines. They brought with them their characteristic habits of industry, their attachment to the culture of the soil, their manufacturing skill, and also their national pride, their turbulent spirit, and other qualities, which may explain the numerous disasters that afterwards befell them in the Philippines.

Jealousy and fear of them.

The new governor, Don Francisco la Sande, though he issued no positive edict against them, viewed their immigration with displeasure, and when an envoy arrived from China with proposals of trade, dismissed him empty handed. Two friars accompanied the ambassador when he left Manilla, after his fruitless mission, and on them he retaliated the treatment he had experienced from their rulers. On a wild part of the coast near Cape Bolinac the padres were put on shore, stripped naked, and severely flogged, while their attendants were cruelly beaten.[2] The Chinese, from every account of them, appeared to be a degraded race, satisfied only with anarchy, brutal to the weak, sneaking to the strong, and addicted to fraud, in such a degree that it may be suspected to form part of their nature. Nevertheless, the hostility displayed to them by the new governor of

[1] Walton, *Preliminary Discourse*, 32.

[2] *Spanish Col. Hist., Chin. Rep.* vii. 296.

the Philippines was impolitic, especially as it was ineffectual. The Chinese thronged to the Philippines for the purposes of agriculture and trade. Their shrewdness and industry, indeed, render them a valuable element in the population of any colony, where the organization of government is sufficiently complete and powerful, though their presence in a youthful settlement, weakly ruled, was the source of continual trouble.

Their industry.

CHAPTER VIII.

Borneo.

More than half a century had passed since an European voyager discovered the immense island of Borneo. The

Early visit.

companions of Magellan in 1521, the Portuguese in 1526, 1527, 1530, and afterwards, from time to time, visited the city of Borneo on the north-west coast, and endeavoured to open a trade with that wealthy country; but this intercourse was desultory, and the result of it insignificant. The Spaniards had sent one fruitless mission, but were not discouraged from a new attempt.

A. D. 1576.

In 1576, Sirela, king of Borneo, was deposed by an usurper, and fled to Manilla, where he promised to lay

Transactions of the Spaniards with Borneo.

the whole island under tribute to the sovereignty of Spain, if the colonists would espouse his cause.[1] The region, indeed, which he engaged to render subject to the imperial crown, was not his own[2]; but the princely munificence of his gratitude was not less flattering on this account to the Spanish conquerors of the Philippine group. They agreed to become his ally, and restore him to the throne of his ancient kingdom.

Borneo Proper.

The country known as Borneo Proper has remained, since its discovery to the present day, in the same condition, peopled by the same race, subject to the same civilisation.[3] Colonised at an early period by the Malays of Sumatra or the Peninsula, it grew into an

[1] Zuniga, *Historical View*, i. 160.

[2] J. R. Logan, *Notices of European Intercourse with Borneo*, *Journ. Ind. Arch.* ii. 499.

[3] Ibid.

important kingdom through the usual stages of progress. A few families settling at the mouth of a river — larger immigrations from regions distracted by civil war, the discovery of natural riches to attract adventurers from the parent state, the transplantation of some sapling from a royal stock to the new soil, the recognition of his divine right, the erection of a kingdom, first tributary, then independent — such have been the invariable episodes in the history of a Malayan state. Such was the kingdom found flourishing on the banks of the Bruné river by the Spaniards, and described in exaggerated terms by the narrator of their voyage.[1] Its antiquity cannot now be measured, though probably it was founded at a date long anterior to the triumph of the Muslim faith over the ruins of Mojopahit in Java. Many various ideas exist on the point, which, however, is of little importance in the political history of the Archipelago. It never was very populous or powerful, and never enjoyed a brilliant commerce, though gold, diamonds, pepper, cloves, nutmegs, pearls, camphor, benjamin, dragon's blood, bezoar stones[2], aloes, musk, civet, amber, rice, and rattans[3] are enumerated among the productions it yielded to furnish the cargo of the merchant. Whatever was its wealth, size, antiquity, or population, it appears to have been the chief kingdom of Borneo[4], at the date to which these events refer.

History of Malayan colonies.

Malay kingdom of Brunć.

Wealth of the island

The island has never been united into one empire; but, on the contrary, divided into several kingdoms, the limits and power of which have been constantly changing, their extent and influence habitually depending on

Its political state.

[1] Pigafetta, Harris's *Collection.*

[2] Valentyn, quo. J. R. Logan. [3] Herbert.

[4] J. R. Logan, *Traces of the Origin of the Malay Kingdom of Borneo Proper, Journ. Ind. Arch.* ii. 519.

the ambition and ability of their sovereigns. The Malays who settled on the north coast, during the prosperity of the parent state in the Peninsula or Sumatra, have so mingled with the Javanese who colonised the western and southern shores, that they have given their name to the whole posterity of the emigrant tribes. It is nevertheless easy for a person familiar with the ethnology of the Archipelago, to distinguish the native of Bruné from the descendant of the Javan settlers, and these differ as much from the parent people of the parent island as from the citizen of the capital.

Native tradition.

The native tradition is that the kingdom sprang from large settlements of Chinese. It is also related [1] that the brothers of Sherrif Ali, at the close of the fourteenth century, the first Muslim sultan of Mindanao, extended his influence to Borneo, where his relatives reigned as kings. It is probable that his brothers, of whom one became Sultan of Salana, swelled the train of their followers on the way from Mecca among the Malayan tribes on the Peninsula, and thus have appeared in the regions they afterwards governed as temporal princes as well as spiritual teachers. It is improbable that the three came together, but the Sultan, himself successful, invited the others.

Several states.

From whatever sources sprung, however, the populations of Borneo were divided into numerous nationalities, under rival or hostile rulers. Bruné was among these, as it has already been said, the principal, though its real condition remained long unknown to Europeans. There was little to attract the traders of the East, though reports of its wealth in gold, gums, and spices were circulated among the islanders. The mariner, sailing along the coast, saw its hills covered with rich

Aspect of the island.

[1] Forrest, *Voyage to New Guinea.*

verdure retreating from the sea, the beautiful blue of the water near the shore, the broad pebbly beach beyond; and, still further, the land rising in successive swells, overlaid with a mass of jungle, and throwing up mountains with every variety of outline, yet the "land of Bruné" has ever worn a desolate aspect. The alluring beauty of its landscapes, the fertile banks of its river, the green and sweeping shores of its bay, and the graceful foliage of its woods, tempted the eye of the traveller in search of the finest scenes in the East. Yet the dwellers in Borneo were a fierce and savage race, continually in the ferment of war, desolating with sack and bloodshed the luxuriant provinces laid out for their use by nature. Europeans have abandoned it to neglect, and the remote interior has never been explored.

Immigration of the Chinese.

Even the Chinese, an enterprising people, who found a home everywhere in the further East, came at first slowly and seldom to this inhospitable coast. In the early ages of European intercourse some of them settled in Bruné, and engaged in pursuing those branches of industry in which they peculiarly excel. At one period, it was said, they had swarmed so densely, that the native power was eclipsed by theirs, and this ascendant influence threatened to throw up barriers against the aggressions of the European conquerors. They had cleared wide sweeps of land, and were busy over its surface in the culture of pepper; they planned gardens; they erected houses, and amassed wealth by the honourable means of labour. They wandered up the interior, spread along the borders of rivers, selected the fine timber trees, felled them, floated them down the stream to primitive docks of their own construction, and then built large and solid junks, which they stored with wealth, steered to China, sold with their cargoes for enormous sums, and

Their energy.

returning in inferior vessels, collected new heaps of merchandise, constructed new junks to convey it, and accumulated immense fortunes in the process.

Anarchy at Bruné.

For a considerable period this continued, and Bruné prospered on the industry of China. But domestic anarchy broke forth in violent eruptions; a war of tribes wasted the country; pillage and murder formed the resources of the great, oppressions and poverty the lot of the humble. This drove the Chinese from the interior, and piracy, then raging along the coast, amid the islands of the Sulu group, and over all the narrow seas of the Archipelago, drove them from Borneo, turned the flow of their emigration into other channels, and left the north-west coast of that great island again as neglected as before. We here see the root of the pirate system, which has developed itself so largely throughout the whole region of insular Asia.

Piracy on the coast.

Such was the condition of Bruné or Borneo Proper, when the Spaniards opened their intercourse with it after the mission of Sirela to the Philippines.[1] An expedition was dispatched to restore him, which succeeded, though the pacification of the kingdom was not effected. In 1580 the prince was again dethroned by his brother, and again his crown was recovered by the aid of the Spanish arms.[2] The sovereignty of the imperial power was acknowledged by the unfortunate king; but history has omitted to state whether the court of Madrid ever ratified the acts in virtue of which he relinquished his independence. The latter expedition was equipped in thirty galleys, which were afterwards employed in ineffectual attempts to levy tribute from the islanders of Jolo and Mindanao.

A. D. 1580. Civil commotions in Bruné.

Spanish policy.

[1] Walton, *Preliminary Discourse*, 32.

[2] Zuniga, *Hist. View of the Philippines*, i. 164.

A third European power now appeared among the waters of the Indian Ocean — a power which the historian, without being influenced by national partiality, may describe as the only one which has not signalised its progress by acts of oppression and cruelty. This was England. The reports of Portuguese and Spanish enterprises had been widely circulated in Europe. Fired by a spirit of emulation, France and England equipped vessels to seek a passage to the East; some by the north-west, some through the vast sea that rolls upon the Cape from India on the east, America on the west, and the Antarctic continent on the south. Voyage after voyage was attempted, but the sea swallowed up many a company of hardy seamen, unskilled in the navigation of its unknown waters, while searching for a route to the shores of the opulent East.[1]

A third European flag in the further East.

First English adventure.

At length, in December, 1577, a squadron left Plymouth, bound on a warlike voyage along the western coasts of Spanish America, and accomplished the unpremeditated achievement. It sailed under Sir Francis Drake, who steered in the track of Magellan, passed the straits which bear that navigator's name, and committed great havoc along the shores of the enemy's empire. Then fearing to encounter some superior fleet on his return, Drake resolved to pass the old bounds of the mariner's adventure, to traverse the immense space of the Pacific, to search for the famous Spice Islands, and bear a cargo of their costly products to astonish his countrymen at home. Entering the Archipelago he was delighted by its beauty. He steered first to Ternate. There the king, who still held his nominal sovereignty over seventy islands[2], was engaged in a struggle with

Sir Francis Drake's voyage.

Passage to the Pacific.

Visit to Ternate.

Barchou de Penhoen, *Hist. de l'Empire Anglais dans l'Inde*, i. 22.
Harris, *Drake's Voyage*.

the Portuguese, who continued to pursue their favourite policy in the group. He received the strangers well, dazzled them by displays of Indian splendour, exchanged presents, and allowed his people to trade with them in spices. A valuable cargo was taken on board. Delighted with this good fortune, Drake visited numerous shores, amazed at their prodigious fertility, and pleased with the simple manners of the people. Among other islands they saw Java, then an unknown region, and collected some information concerning its resources and condition.

His success.

Homeward voyage.

Thence they spread sail for their great voyage to the Cape, reported by the jealous Portuguese to be crowded with dangers from hurricanes, tornadoes, reefs, breakers, and all the terrors which could daunt the inexperienced navigators of that age.[1] Without once touching land, Drake steered through this wide sea, visited the Cape, and blew to the winds every idle rumour circulated by the craft of the Portuguese. He arrived in England after a voyage of two years, ten months, and some days. The people flocked to behold the first ships of the English, and the second of any nation, which had made the circuit of the world. The news of Drake's achievement spread through the country; the shores were covered with multitudes incessantly renewed; Queen Elizabeth, having delayed a few days to save appearances to Spain, which complained of the ravages committed on her shores, visited the vessels, and conferred knighthood on their bold commander. A voluminous collection might be made of the songs, sonnets, odes, and lyrical poems composed and sung in honour of this great adventure.[2] The example of Drake immediately

Triumphal return to England.

[1] Drake's *Voyage*. Harris's *Collection*. Barchou de Penhoen, *L'Empire Anglais dans l'Inde*, i. 22.

[2] Barchou de Penhoen, *L'Empire Anglais dans l'Inde*, i. 24.

revived the ardour which so many disasters had conspired to quench, and the favourite ambition of the most sanguine aspirants in England was to spread a sail on the waters of the remoter East.[1]

New era in the Archipelago.

The arrival of Drake opened a new era in the history of the Archipelago, for though he came as a meteor and so disappeared, the reports he carried home gave an impulse to the spirit of commercial adventure. The rich islands that had been seen, the marvellous relations that had been heard were described in language that fired the imagination of the hearer. The travellers' eye, feasting upon scenes, already conjured up by fancy, saw in all the East gorgeous splendour and abundant wealth. His ear, accustomed to the romantic accounts that were brought circuitously into Europe, readily drank in the wildest tales. An exaggeration of real scenes, an indistinct comprehension of native reports, the pleasure of exciting marvel, and a florid style of description, account for the strange relations which crowd the pages of the earlier travellers, and were accepted by the credulity of the age.

Rumours of its wealth.

Jealousy of the English.

The Portuguese in the Moluccas, jealous beyond expression of the discovery that threatened to bring a second rival into the commerce of those seas, grasped fiercely at the chances of aggrandisement. But theirs was a false policy, creating perpetual wars, every conflict reproducing itself, and sinking only to break out again with unabated rancour. But the final scene of their dominion among the Moluccas was drawing to a close. A king of Ternate having long maintained a struggle for the independence of his country, rallied the islanders to a new insurrection, and struck the blow which turned the upward flight of Portuguese power,

Decline of Portuguese power in the Moluccas.

A. D. 1581.

[1] Barchou de Penhoen, *L'Empire Anglais dans l'Inde*, i. 24.

and impelled it to its culmination. He attacked their fortress, and though it was bravely defended by a well-armed garrison captured it, and once more Ternate remained in the hands of its original possessors.

Union of Spain and Portugal.

The Portuguese kingdom did not survive to redeem this disgrace. In the same year, by its union with Spain, on the deaths of Don Sebastian and Don Henry, its Indian possessions reverted to that country.[1] She inherited no peaceful dominion in the Oriental islands.

A. D. 1582. Vicissitudes of Malacca.

The year following her accession to this extended power, Malacca — the first site of European empire in the further East — was again attacked by the king of Achin, and though his forces were again defeated, this success was more than balanced by the total failure of an expedition dispatched from the Philippines to recover possession of the Spice Islands. It was undertaken by Penalosa, who arrived at Manilla in 1580.

Progress of the Spaniards.

His first act had been to mark out a quarter for the exclusive residence of the Chinese in Santiago, in a position commanded by the guns of the fort. An insult such as this, added to the oppression heaped on that people, naturally led them to hate the conquerors, with whom they now only consented to associate through objects of gain — so miserable was the intercourse which was originally opened by an act of humanity on the part of the Europeans. Discontent was fomented, and the state of the Spanish colonies in the Philippines was that of a society of which one class perpetually held the other in terror, the direst hatred animating the breasts of both.

For his attempt on the Moluccas, Penalosa was not responsible. The project had been debated in Spain, and was commenced in obedience to orders from the

[1] *Spanish Colonial History, Chin. Rep.* vii. 294.

Imperial court. It sailed in 1582. On board one of the vessels was Pablo de Lima, who had married a daughter of the king of Tidor, and pretended a right to some towns, occupied by the sovereign of Ternate. The opposition of the natives, with an epidemic that broke out among the troops, forced Penalosa to retreat to the Philippines, where, next year, he died, it is said, of melancholy caused by the disputes between the people and the priests, as well probably as by the failure of his attempt upon the Spice Islands. At his funeral in the Augustine church the tapers set the building on fire, and the flames communicating to some houses, spread through the city with terrific violence. In a few hours nearly all Manilla lay in ruins, which overwhelmed many of the inhabitants, besides a vast amount of merchandise.[1] The misfortunes that had recently accumulated upon the Spanish crown, particularly in the Indian islands, almost induced the abandonment of these colonies. Through the miserable system of trade between Acapulco and the Philippines, their possession entailed little more than an expenditure of Mexican silver; and it was only the aversion of the Church to relinquish a foot of empire, or a single subject in any part of the world, that prevented them from being restored to their original rulers.[2]

A. D. 1583.

Conflagration in Manilla.

Spanish commercial policy.

The successor of Penalosa was Don Santiago da Vera, who came with the members of a high court of justice to retail law at Manilla. He renewed the attempt on the Moluccas; but the tribes of those islands preferred their own tyrants before the tyrants of Europe, and effectually resisted the invasion. The rapacity and oppression of the Spaniards in Luzon had also wearied

A. D. 1584. Misgovernment in the Philippines.

[1] Walton, *Preliminary Discourse*, 34.

[2] Heeren, *Historical Researches*, i. 133.

the people of their sway.[1] A conspiracy was entered into with the Malays of Borneo to burn the city and expel the white men. The plot, discovered, was suppressed, while others of a similar nature were occurring in various parts of the group. It had been easy to receive the yoke, but to cast it off appeared impossible.

Second visit of the English.

While the Archipelago was distracted by these and similar events, the English paid their second visit, though again they disappeared without establishing their influence on any of the islands. Thomas Cavendish, on the 21st of July, 1586, sailed from Plymouth to follow the track of Francis Drake. He steered through the Straits of Magellan, wasted the shores of the Spanish possessions in South America, captured several prizes, launched himself on the Pacific, and for the first time displayed the English flag among the Marianas and the Philippines.[2] When the people of this group discovered that their new visitors were not Spaniards, but were in hostility with them, their joy burst into extravagant expressions. Their arms were laid at the feet of the English, to aid them against their enemies, and an universal revolt was promised if ships of war would come to support it.[3] Cavendish refused to engage in the adventure then, but stipulated for a welcome on his next visit. He carefully studied the geography of the Philippines, traversed the Molucca sea, ranged the great chain of islands extending from Sumatra to Timor, visited Java, and entered into a convention with the natives.[4] Nothing was neglected to render the navigation of the

A. D. 1586. Voyage of Cavendish.

Reception in the Philippines.

[1] Barchou de Penhoen, *L'Empire Anglais dans l'Inde*, i. 25.
[2] Ibid. i. 25.
[3] Mill, *History of British Indian Empire.*
[4] Barchou de Penhoen, *L'Empire Anglais dans l'Inde*, i. 25.

Archipelago easier to the future explorer. The aspect of the heavens, the position of the stars, the course of the winds and currents, the situation of the islands were noted, to serve the English in their next voyage. Cavendish then sailed for the Cape, and thence homewards, where he arrived at Plymouth in September, 1588. His account of the adventures he had met with, the scenes he had beheld, and the information he had received, was a panegyric on the wealth and beauty of the East. "I navigated the islands of the Philippines, hard upon the coast of China, of which country I have heard such intelligence as hath not been heard of in these parts; a country the stateliness and riches of which I fear to make report of, lest I should not be credited. I sailed among the islands of Molucca, where, among some of the heathen people, I was well entreated, and where our countrymen may have trade as freely as the Portugals."[1]

Caution of the mariners.

A. D. 1588.

Cavendish's report.

The English nation had already indeed opened an indirect intercourse with the East. The Levant Company, privileged in the undertaking, dispatched ships to the eastern coasts of the Mediterranean, where depôts of Indian merchandise were collected by the overland traders. Another association, formed to conduct a commerce with Russia, had sent its agent across the Caspian Sea into Persia, where he saw, in the city of Boghar, a concourse of merchants, not only Russian and Persian, but Indian and Chinese. The same adventurer performed this journey seven times, and established a considerable traffic in silk, carpets, spices, precious stones, and other commodities[2], just as a private individual commenced the intercourse between

English enterprises.

[1] Mill, *History of British India.*

[2] Barchou de Penhoen, *L'Empire Anglais dans l'Inde*, i. 26.

Independence and New Mexico, now carried on by the Santa Fé caravans. These successes conspired to direct the attention of England to the East, and other circumstances stimulated its desire. The prizes captured by privateers displayed in their rich freights a tempting lure. Cavendish had taken a deeply laden galleon, bound from Acapulco to Manilla; Drake brought home another; and Sir John Boroughs seized, near the Azores, a small ship stored with spices, silk, gold, pearls, precious drugs, porcelain, ebony, and other rare commodities, which dazzled the imagination of the trader.[1] Still, though the thirst of commercial enterprise had been excited, the apathy of the ruling powers in England checked the national spirit, and the great results of these events were long delayed.

Wars of Europe.

The affairs of Europe, involved in disorder by wars, and the ferment of a religious revolution, demanded the attention of her leading powers, and obscured the claims of private ambition. The rivalry of Spain and England was begun; the one forming the imperial stronghold of the Papal Church, the other, with Holland, nursing in her bosom the rising principles of the Reformation. Preparing for the naval campaign that afterwards covered the seas with fleets, there was little more than individual enterprise to spare for the prosecution of a commercial struggle beyond the line, which was regarded as also beyond the law of nations. Spain, therefore, continued still for a few years to enjoy the unrivalled trade of the remote East, bequeathed to her by the extinction of the male line in Portugal, 1580.

A. D. 1589. A severe blow, however, was dealt against the feeble prosperity of Manilla, by the wreck of two splendid galleons near the fortress of Cavite in Luconia.

[1] Barchou de Penhoen, i. 27.

[2] Walton, *Preliminary Discourse*, 34.

The weakness of this colony belonging to a nation which claimed the sole dominion of the sea[1], was illustrated by the failure of an expedition against Magindanao and Sulu.[2] The Spaniards were repulsed in several engagements, and their disgrace was not completed here. To resent their attempt of invasion an armament from that extensive island visited the coasts of their possessions, and committed great havoc in the maritime provinces. Ascribing all their misfortunes to the conquerors whose tyranny burdened their soil, the tribes of the Philippines continually fretted under authority, and to coerce them into loyalty a new fort was erected, and several pieces of ordnance were cast. Under the administration of Gomez Perez Dasmarinas a wall of stone was erected round Manilla, and another fort constructed at Santiago. Hospitals, magazines, and asylums were built, and the garrisons increased by reinforcements from Mexico. A letter and a mission from the Emperor of Japan now arrived[3], with another from the King of Camboja, who sent a present of two elephants and prayed for assistance against his enemy the sovereign of Siam.[4] These incidents are remarkable, as illustrating the progress of European influence in the neighbouring regions of the Archipelago. The fame of the Spanish arms had spread far through the East, and the native potentates struggled for a favour which often brought on them disaster and ruin. But the governor of the Philippines, while proud of these confessions of his country's authority, was too deeply engaged in schemes of private conquest to listen to applications from the princes of the main land. Spain saw that the con-

Spanish attacks on private haunts.

Defences of Manilla. A. D. 1590.

Native embassies.

[1] Heeren, *Historical Researches*, i. 134. [2] Crawfurd, ii. 469.
[3] Crawfurd, ii. 466. [4] Walton, *Preliminary Discourse*, 35.

clusion of the contest then begun would open the seas of the East to the rivalry of Europe, and endeavoured to forestall the ambition of her neighbours. A new plan of conquest was laid against the Spice group, — the victim of rapine, more cursed in its unequalled wealth than the most naked wilderness inhabited by man. Again, nevertheless, the islanders succeeded in driving away the invading fleet, which returned to Luzon, where other disasters were accumulating upon the Spanish power.

New plan of conquest.

Chinese settlers at Manilla.

The Chinese settlers in the Philippines, competing for the prizes of industry, drew on themselves the jealousy of the ruling class. Rival, with the Spaniards, signified enemy, and all imaginable means were conceived to harass these persevering invaders of the soil.

Their conduct.

Their insolence, indeed, chafing under authority, aggravated the hatred of the governor; but it was less for their turbulence than for their commercial success, that he viewed them with animosity. It is said, indeed, that the discouragement of the Chinese at Manilla was reprobated by the home government[1]; but its subsequent policy renders such an idea scarcely credible.

Hated by the Spaniards.

Whatever, however, was the truth, it is certain the Chinese were persecuted, and, jaded by insults and injuries, they took every occasion to express the bitterness of their hatred against the Europeans. During the expedition to the Moluccas, an incident occurred to kindle their discontent. Dasmarinas went on board a galley, and pressed a hundred and fifty Chinese to row the vessel. Nor was this all. The men laboured under the lash; and this last humiliation, which even slavery will not always accept, roused their hot Asiatic blood. The galley was by stratagem separated from

Massacre of

[1] Heeren, *European States and Colonies.*

the rest of the fleet; and before she had emerged upon the Sea of Celebes, the Chinese rose to a man, seized whatever weapons lay within their reach, and falling upon the governor and his companions, made of them a bloody sacrifice to their revenge. Only a few escaped by plunging overboard and swimming to the nearest shore. The mutineers then resolved to steer the galley to their own country; but pausing to water at Ilocos in Luzon, lost twenty of their number in an affray with the Indians. It is said they then landed at another place, and sacrificed a Christian prisoner to their gods. Afterwards they proceeded to Cochin China, where the people plundered them of all they had.[1] Nor can these men be too harshly blamed. Allowing for the circumstances of their civilisation, and the degradation which had been imposed on them, we cannot wonder if, when the sword was in their hands, they employed it to cut off tyrants of whom they entertained none but memories of wrong.

a Spanish crew.

Some of the Chinese succeeded in escaping to their own coast, and their countrymen in great numbers then resorted to Manilla. Nor were these all of the mercantile or industrious classes. Some were of the order which bears the dignity of indolence, and wears the authority of rank and title. This movement was viewed with much suspicion by the Spaniards, who saw in every settler a competitor, and in every competitor an enemy. Their progress in the Philippines was consequently impeded as much by their own bigotry as by the hostility of the natives, whom their policy had changed from submissive subjects to disaffected tributaries, impatient of the yoke they bore.

New influx of Chinese.

Surprising the Spaniards.

We now arrive at an important era in the history of

Great event

[1] *Spanish Colonial History, Chin. Rep.* vii. 298.

in the history.

the Indian Archipelago—the appearance of the Dutch to assume a share in its commerce. The barren empire of the sea, arrogated by Spain since the fall of Portugal, was disputed by England and Holland. The Republic of the United Netherlands, rising up amid the old monarchies of Europe, displayed a naval force which, with that of England, launched fleets such as never had been known before.[1] Ships, colonies, and commerce acquired a new importance. The freedom of the sea, asserted by the pen of Grotius[2], was vindicated by the armies of Holland, borne by the bravery of a nation which had conquered its territory from the sea, and defended it with works of splendid magnitude. A race of fishermen and shepherds, in an obscure corner of Europe, had broken the yoke of one of its oldest empires; and the cities of Holland rising, like Tyre and Venice, amid marshes and banks of sand, gave a refuge to the persecuted, but sent them to gather means of subsistence from every quarter of the world.[3] The rapacity of Spain drove from the country fugitives who became exiles on the sea, first corsairs, then heroes, then the founders of a Republic. A decree of the people abolished the authority of Philip, and his name disappeared from the laws.[4]

Rise of Holland.

Importance of commerce.

Valour of the Dutch.

The revolt of the Netherlands.

Early Dutch voyages.

While Holland was struggling for existence, in the enjoyment of her new liberties, she sought to extend her influence to the farthest regions of Asia, and share that commerce claimed as the exclusive privilege of Spain. To be free from the odious burden of imperial tyranny, she had loaded herself with a burden ten times more heavy[5], and to retrieve these sacrifices no means

Their gallant conduct at home.

[1] Heeren, *Historical Researches.* [2] Grotius, *Mare Liberum.*
[3] Montesquieu, *Esprit des Loix*, xx. 5.
[4] Schiller, *Hist. of Defection of the United Netherlands.*
[5] Burke, *Speech on the American War.*

were so legitimate as an extensive trade with the East. It is with pain the historian must turn from the contemplation of a noble struggle in Europe, signalised by acts of heroic valour, to a series of conquests in the Indies, rendered infamous by the atrocities which characterised them. Yet this is his duty. The pen that would emulate the enthusiasm of the Dutch writers themselves, while dwelling on the manly valour and constant patriotism that broke the yoke of Spain, must follow the train of events in the Archipelago and show the forms of Dutch achievements there.

Their behaviour abroad.

Religious persecution drove the Pilgrim fathers to America, to found a mighty state on the borders of that new continent, where, in the second youth of the British people, the genuine descendants of a hardy and pious ancestry have already given examples of wisdom to the oldest nations of the world. Commercial persecution impelled the traders of Holland to seek a field for their enterprise in the world of islands which had risen to view among the waters of the East.[1] Excluded from the ports of Spain and Holland, and from the advantage of distributing the products of India among the markets of Europe, they resolved to open for themselves a road of maritime adventure. Philip, decreeing heavy penalties against any of his subjects who should traffic with the Dutch, enriched them by the plan he had devised for their ruin, for they sought in the emporiums of the Indies themselves what they had hitherto procured at Lisbon.[2]

Impulse to colonisation.

Miserable policy of the Spanish crown.

Thus the wars which desolated the United Netherlands at the close of the sixteenth century, were the sources of their greatest prosperity. When Spain was

Causes of Dutch prosperity.

[1] De Constantine, *Recueil*, i. 199.

[2] Barchou de Penhoen, *Empire Anglais dans l'Inde*.

imperial among the powers of Christendom, spreading her arms to the remotest coasts, and leading the discoveries of all the world, the navigation of Holland was confined to the waters of the narrow Baltic, to the Mediterranean Sea, and the German Ocean. As long as they were persecuted within the limits of endurance they allowed their despotic mistress to reap the full harvest of her ambition; but the last strain upon their patience discovered to the patriots of Holland, that tyrants can only oppress while nations are content to be enslaved.

English commercial adventures.

The English Company of the Levant had already dismissed an expedition to India, in search of the richest trading cities, and some of their agents had travelled across the Indian Peninsula as far as Malacca.[1] The routes by sea were still, however, involved in mystery, and it was debated which was best to be chosen for the first enterprise. Two officials in the Netherland service, in conjunction with several merchants, undertook to open the gates of Oriental commerce. The north-west passage was selected. They resolved to range the coasts of Tartary, the golden shores of Cathai, as far as China and Japan, and thence steer into the Archipelago, through one of the Philippine channels. The expedition was planned, and its leaders chosen; but the way was not yet open; and while these men were deliberating on the new route, others were preparing to reach India through the old.[2]

The route to India.

Cornelius Houtman imprisoned.

Cornelius Houtman, a Dutch merchant, being at Lisbon, was tempted by curiosity to inquire concerning the commerce of the East. Those whom he questioned carried information to the court. The king, considering such investigation as a conspiracy against his monopoly,

[1] Anderson, *History of Commerce*. [2] Macpherson, *Annals*.

signified his displeasure by an act of power, and Houtman was thrown into prison, in default of the heavy penalty he was condemned to pay. Without private fortune, he was likely to languish in the gaol at Lisbon. A project, however, occurred to him. He wrote to the merchants of Amsterdam, begging them to ransom him from captivity, and promising in return to reveal the information he had collected concerning the trade and resources of India. They acceded to his request, and he was faithful to his engagement.

Negotiations with the Amsterdam merchants.

After studying his report they resolved to establish "The Company of Distant Countries," and despatch to India, in the track of the Portuguese, four vessels with Houtman in command. Many able and experienced mariners were engaged to accompany him. Their instructions were chiefly to mark well the route, to open a trade in spices, and secure the commerce of those places where Europeans had not already settled.[1]

Equipment of a squadron.

Its object.

On the 2nd of April, 1595, the vessels weighed anchor at Texel, and set sail. Two were of 400 tons burden; the third, half that size; and the last, a light pinnace for the navigation of rivers and shallow waters. They passed the Canary Isles, and on the 28th had above them a vertical sun that left no shadow on the decks. On the 4th of May, they hailed two Portuguese caravels, which attempted to escape, but lowered their flags when the Hollanders closed upon them in pursuit. Their captains then, with much hesitation, said that land lay about eighty leagues further east, that they were bound for Goa, and had been twenty days at sea. The ships then exchanged presents, separated, and each pursued its course.

It sails.

Voyage.

On the 1st day of June, after a perilous voyage, A. D. 1596.

[1] De Constantine, *Recueil*, i. 4.

Sight of land.

crowded with adventure, they saw land. On the 6th they met several canoes, which hovered at a distance from the vessels and dared not approach. An armed boat was sent in pursuit; but the savages paddled their long light canoes away, ran them on shore, and escaped.

The Indians seen.

They were tall slim men, armed with bows and arrows. Black hair, streaming over their shoulders, added to the effect of their wild faces, which glowed with alarm as the pale strangers rowed in chase of them.

The Archipelago in view.

The great islands of Sumatra and Java were now in view, realising to the voyager's eye all that had been rumoured of their magnificent vegetation and stately beauty. The Straits of Sunda dividing them, opened in the prospect, though a multitude of little isles, crowding its channel, hid from view the interior waters.

Aspect of the isles.

Most of them were low blunt cones, wrapped with verdure, with the sea beating and tossing roughly among them. The Dutch vessels commenced the passage, steering under the lofty coasts of Sumatra, and

First meeting with the natives.

met three barges with sails and oars. On board were seven men rowing, with nine others girdled with cotton cloths and wearing muslin turbans, who reposed under a party-coloured awning. Nothing could be learned from them; but in their unintelligible tongue the names Japara and Bantam were many times repeated. They pointed to Sumatra, and made signs that it was very wealthy.[1]

Exploring the Archipelago.

The pinnace was consequently sent to examine its coast, and returned with an account of seven villages that had been seen near the sea; but no further information was collected.

Native barques.

Other native vessels were encountered, which were thought to be the corsair boats proceeding to Menancabao. Whole flotillas of prahus,

[1] See Nicollas, *Collection*, 18.

indeed, passed the strange squadron; but none other than an amicable intercourse ensued.

The savage and the civilised man.

When the savage and the civilised man first meet, their natural feeling is one of reciprocal curiosity. Next succeeds what appears almost an instinct, the desire to barter—evidently in all parts of the world the infant essay of the commercial spirit. When the Portuguese discoverers, and the English who followed them [1], sailed into the Archipelago, the vessels, as they floated in their mighty bulk and mysterious grandeur over unknown seas, were watched by the natives from every shore. The first impulse of the barbarians on learning that these strangers were men, and not wanderers from heaven, was to put off in their canoes with vegetables, fruit, and other provisions.

Reception of the Dutch.

The Dutch squadron was welcomed in the same manner; and the vessel rounding Java Head at the present day, encounters a similar reception to that which Sequeira and Houtman received at that early period.[2] Light prahus, full of men and women dressed in the loose sarong, but bamboo hats, surrounded her, bringing supplies of fruit, vegetables, and turtle. Occasionally a brass swivel, highly polished, betrays itself among the heaps of provisions at the bottom of the boat, with other implements of war, indicating a variety of occupations on the part of these shrewd traders.[3] At the mouth of the Straits of Sunda, distinguished as the gate of the further East, a singular fair is held under the shade of a spreading banyan-tree, where the voyager entering or leaving those seas may purchase the splendid birds and curious animals of those islands, as mementos of his visit.[4]

Market at the gates of the Archipelago.

[1] Beeckman, *Voyage to Borneo.*
[2] Earl, *Eastern Seas.* [3] *MS. Notes of a Traveller.*
[4] Belcher, *Voyage of the Samarang.*

Traffic.

The Dutch entered readily into traffic with the islanders. Fish, rice, water-melons, sugar-canes, cocoa-nuts, and many delicious kinds of fruit, were received in exchange for red and blue glass beads. Accompanying these friendly natives to the shore, they met by the way some curiously built prahus, whose passengers were attired in robes of sky blue cloth, and surrounded by men armed with staffs. In company with several of the chiefs, they visited a village of about twenty houses, built of palm wood. There, for the first time, they saw pepper growing, like the hop, over tall poles. They bought as much as was offered, with some nutmegs and cloves. Here a few women were seen. They wore heavy armlets, and were girdled with a kilt of cotton, descending to the knees, and also a band passed upwards to conceal the bosom. Their hair was partly gathered up, partly allowed to flow over the person in heavy tresses. A pleasant barter took place, the savages exchanging the fruits and produce of their island for trinkets and other trifles from Europe. At length the crew of a little boat was engaged to pilot the squadron, in consideration of five pieces of eight from every ship. Sailing along the coast they every where met with a warm and courteous welcome, and every day's voyage opened to their view an expanding panorama of rich variety in outline, hue, and aspect.

Friendly islanders.

First see pepper.

Women seen.

Indian pilot.

In one place the islanders inquired by signs whether the Dutch came from Goa and Cochin China, and were bound for Bantam.

See a junk.

In a beautiful bay on the coast of Java, they saw a vessel denominated by the natives a "junk," with three masts and an immense lateen sail. The enterprising traders of China had long been carrying on commerce with the western islands of the Archipelago, as the Spaniards had found them among the Philippines and

the Portuguese among the Moluccas, actively engaged in loading their junks with spices and the other treasures of those islands, between which and Java the desires of the Dutch continued long to hover. Java is, perhaps, the most magnificent of the whole group, from its fertility and the abundance of its natural resources. From end to end it is intersected by small ranges of mountains, joining in central cones, attracting clouds to empty themselves in springs of perpetual flow, which play through the high sloping valleys, carrying down the soil from the hills and irrigating the lower plains. At the foot of these ranges open vales of unequalled fertility, where the soil, from ten to fifty feet in depth, yields the noblest harvests in the world. From end to end the island presents a series of picturesque landscapes.

Java.

Its fertility.

Near Bantam, on the north-east coast of Java, they saw a flotilla of sixty prahus, manned by fishermen. They also met a galley with six Portuguese attended by their slaves, who came to inquire who the strangers were and what their object was. Houtman answered they were Dutchmen and came from Holland to trade in the Indian Archipelago. The Portuguese, who had a factory there[1], said that this was a wealthy place, but all the valuable products of that season had already gone to China. They gave information also that the king of Bantam was besieging Palembang, a rebellious city in Sumatra, and had died after a partial victory; that 200 war prahus had left, but most of the crews had perished of hunger; that a child of five years was heir, and that the people had named a regent. Some of the Portuguese declared they had been at Ternate with Francis Cavendish; and others, that they had accompanied

Portuguese galley.

Native politics.

[1] Temminck, *Coup d'Œil sur les Possessions Neerlandaises.*

Message sent to Malacca.

Lancaster in his voyage through the Straits. A message was sent to the governor of Malacca, assuring him that Holland was come to join in the trade with all amity, in friendly emulation. These courtesies were returned; and, say the Dutch, the Portuguese feigned infinite joy, but they parted rivals in jealous animosity.

Politics of Java.

Houtman found the power of the king at Bantam rapidly sinking before that of an emperor, who appeared winning a dominion over the neighbouring states. He had resided long with the Portuguese at Malacca, and now resumed an authority belonging to his family, as he declared, from an early period. Refusing to support his claim, the Dutch were not ashamed to avow that it was from no doubt of its legitimacy, but because a protracted sojourn among their rivals had imbued his mind with a preference for them, and proportionate hostility to all others. They discovered, however, that the Portuguese influence, faintly displayed at Bantam, was declining, and promised soon to be extinguished altogether.

Portuguese influence.

Trade with the people.

To a message from the king they sent for answer, that they had come solely for purposes of trade. A display of their gold and merchandise tempted the people to bring large quantities of pepper, which they sold at the rate of about 280 pounds for nineteen florins. Houtman was invited on shore; he evaded the request, and asked the chiefs to visit him on board. Mutual assurances of good will were pledged, and the Dutch were requested to lend the aid of their artillery towards battering down the rebel city of Palembang in Sumatra. Meanwhile, the Portuguese, jealous of this intercourse, endeavoured to create distrust between their old friends and their new rivals. They warned the Javans against the Dutch, and the Dutch against the Javans. On the other hand, the Hollanders listened with delight to

aspersions of the Portuguese, who were described as double-hearted hypocrites. At length a deputation from the squadron was sent to visit the governor, and was received with great ceremony. Afterwards the governor himself came on board, attended from the shore to the ship by a flotilla of prahus. The Dutch excused themselves from an armed alliance, but an intercourse of the most amicable nature was nevertheless established. The chief of Bantam saw with wonder and admiration the display of wealth and force, in the admiral's vessel, and trembled as he entered the state cabin. Impressed by high ideas of Dutch power, he was persuaded to agree that no spices should be sold to any other merchants while their ships were loading.

Progress of intercourse.

On the 1st of July, Houtman landed and visited the emperor of Bantam. His commissions were read, translated into Arabic and Portuguese, and explained to the prince. Houtman declared he had come to treat for alliance and claim the privileges of trade. The natives appeared well pleased with the Dutch, and warned them against the merchants of Portugal. The Hollanders, as they assert, defended the people of that nation, praying that they might not be confounded with those pirates, the English, who were already, on the strength of strange reports, hated and feared throughout that region. Whatever may be true in these accounts, it is certain that each of the European adventurers endeavoured to supplant the other, and secure the monopoly of traffic. A sordid spirit of avarice betrayed itself in their dealings. Spices were offered for sale by the Arab and Chinese merchants; but refused, since Houtman imagined they could be extorted from the Javans at an inferior price. Cupidity usually succeeds in overreaching itself, and ultimately the Dutch embroiled themselves with the people of Bantam. A

Dutch libels on the English.

Their avarice.

Hostilities resulting.

battle took place between the ships and the native craft. Great havoc was committed; the town was cannonaded, and some prisoners who fell into the hands of the governor, were sentenced to death. No mercy was contemplated, but the chiefs could not agree as to the mode of inflicting the penalty. Some were for shooting them with arrows; others, for blowing them from the cannon's mouth; others, for dispatching them with poniards. Meanwhile, the battering continued, and the king's palace was visited by a bullet from one of the great guns. Once involved in hostilities, no measures were held. A miserable destruction of life took place, and Houtman at length weighed anchor, leaving nine of his company in the enemy's hands. Some strange caprice in the native mind saved them from death, and they were allotted as slaves to the chiefs who had lost vassals in battle. To induce them to forswear their faith they were tortured, though to no purpose. According to the Dutch, the Portuguese offered to buy these captives at a heavy price, but were unsuccessful.

Slaughter at Bantam.

The voyage renewed.

Houtman now made sail along the coast. The vessels were short of water, but feared to enter the mouths of any of the numerous rivers which pour into the sea on the eastern shore of Java. They proceeded to Sumatra, encountering many adventures among the natives, and refreshed their company. Afterwards they renewed the attack on Bantam, throwing several volleys into the town, and then steering to Soartam, where a conflict took place. The Dutch carried on the slaughter until absolutely weary of hewing or shooting down their miserable enemies. The rest of the day was passed in flinging the dead into the sea; and while the wretched people were timidly searching over the waves to pick up the bodies of their friends, the Dutch continued ruthlessly to fire upon them.

Description of Bantam.

The nature of the forces against which the Dutch now brought to bear the arts of European warfare, which had nobly been employed against the fleets of Spain, may be indicated by a sketch of Bantam, where their sword was first drawn. Once an open village, it was situated in a fruitful country, at the foot of a high mountain. On each side was a shallow river, of fine sweet water, with another traversing the centre. Strong wattled fences were extended across their mouths, — a singular illustration of the advance in warlike skill among the islanders at that period, when hurdles of woven bamboo were erected to oppose the armed fleets of the Archipelago. Bantam was not comparable to the most insignificant town of Holland, then only growing out of a morass. A rough wall surrounded the city, which consisted of three straight streets, leading, the one from the sea to the palace, the second to the country gate, the third to the gate of the mountains. The avenues of approach were weakly guarded, though the passage through the city was rendered difficult by rivulets of water intersecting it in all directions. At intervals rose clumps of palm-trees, shading the houses, which were merely thatched with straw or twigs, supported by pillars of wood elaborately carved.

Markets of the city.

There were three markets in the city, where traders from Portugal, from Arabia — the Holy Land of Islam — from Turkey, from China, and from Pegu, from Bengal, Guzerat and Malabar, thronged to traffic for the produce of the Indian islands[1], bartering the treasures of their respective lands for the metals and spices of Java and the neighbouring regions. The people are described as malicious, cruel, slandering, lying, thieving, servile, and greedy; but nevertheless a hardy and

[1] Raffles, *History of Java*, ii. 163.

courageous race. This account, however, is received from voyagers who sought a palliation for acts which stained the first adventurers in those seas with the blood of the people. The broadsides of Dutch ships, thrown among the wretched thatched houses of Bantam, laid them in ruins, and early taught the Javans what to look for from their new European visitors. Holland then commenced in the Indian Archipelago a struggle which has not yet terminated. She thought to expel other powers from all share in the commerce of the islands; but has never attempted, by conciliation and humanity, to endear herself in the minds of the aboriginal population. The sword drawn at Bantam has not long since been sheathed, but with the same instrument Holland has conquered and governed. The history of her progress in the further East is a narrative alternately of rapine and intrigue.

Dutch policy.

From their slaughtering ground at Sidayu, the Dutch proceeded to Madura, an island outlying the Java coast. The news of their arrival had travelled before them; for, as in the first great voyage of Columbus, the natives carried in their canoes, from shore to shore, intelligence of the strange armaments that had visited their waters, so the Indian islanders spread in their swift prahus, the story of the bloody scenes that had been enacted at Bantam, Soartam, and Sidayu.

Visit Madura.

News of their arrival.

At that period had arisen in Java the power of the first prince of the House of Mataram, which was spreading itself over the island, and threatening the independence of the smaller states. Many of these, however, still remained unsubdued — among them Bantam, Cheribon, Jakatra, Surabaya, and the neighbouring isles of the Madura group [1]; separated from it on the

Princes of Java.

[1] Crawfurd, *Hist. Indian Archipelago*, ii. 340.

north-east, by a broad straight channel. It is very fertile, and abounds in rice. Fertile in soil, it is subject to many floods, so that the labourer frequently works up to his knees in water. Large ships cannot easily approach, from the dangerous nature of the navigation near the shore. The population then subsisted chiefly on the fruits of a petty predatory system, which the Javanese feared to retaliate, as Madura was the granary whence, in seasons of dearth, they drew their supplies of grain.

Pirates.

The Dutch declare that an attempt was here made on the life of one of their company, in revenge for a wound received at Sidayu. Were this true, it is a poor palliation of the atrocity that followed. The prince of the island, with a numerous train, prepared to visit the white visitors, and a large flotilla of prahus put out. Some were crowded with the wives and children of the chiefs; and on one was an elevated bridge, with three ranks of well armed warriors arrayed upon it, probably as the prince's guard of honour. With confident pleasure they approached the vessels—welcome in their faces, and friendliness in all their movements.

Preparations for receiving the Dutch.

The flotilla drew near, dancing over the waves, with gay streamers fluttering from the sterns, and the people signifying their delight by every kind of gesture. The four Dutch ships lay steadily without. The scene was one of peculiar interest. Java, with its mighty range of coast, swept away on the right,—Madura, green and beautiful, rose before,—all around lay the sea, blue as the Adriatic—the vessels reposed on its undulating breast, and the quaint barques of the Indians, fantastically adorned, painted with gaudy colours, thronged with children, women, and warriors, with chiefs sitting in state, and laborious oarsmen plying their task; and

Tragedy at Madura.

Animating scene.

all moving forward to meet their strange visitants from an unknown region.

The crews were on deck to witness the spectacle. They were doubtful as to the nature of the visit. The prahus thickened and drew nearer to the ships. Trembling under the terrors of a guilty conscience, the Dutch imagined some act of treachery on the part of the Madurese. They fired three great guns on the royal prahu, and swept its deck of the crew. This was the signal for slaughter. The men swarmed over the bulwarks, and crowded all the boats. They put off from the vessels, dashed amid the native craft, rowed to and fro through the fleet, followed up volley with volley on the bewildered savages, hewed down all who fell within reach of their steel, and overtook with the bullet those who attempted to escape by swimming. A struggling mass of wrecks drifted along the water — the prahus shattered to fragments under the broadsides of the Dutch ships. Nevertheless they continued to pour in their hot and furious volleys with murderous effect, killing men and women, young and old, until, of the whole holiday company, not many more than twenty survived. Among the dead was the prince, who wore a girdle crusted with precious stones. They spoiled the body of its decorations, and returned it to the sea.[1]

Massacre of the islanders.

Ferocity of the Dutch.

Several prisoners were taken and interrogated. From some, fear wrung the avowal of an intended attack. Others steadily denied it, pointing to the bodies of their wives and children, as the melancholy testimony to their innocence. Satisfied at length of the fatal error into which their ferocity or their cowardice had betrayed them, they gave the wretched creatures their lives. One exception was made in this roll of mercy —

Prisoners captured.

[1] Raffles, *Hist. of Java*, ii. 105.

in the instance of a young man suspected of intriguing against the Dutch, who was sentenced to die. He wept bitterly on hearing the announcement of his condemnation. The prince's surviving child — a boy only six or seven years old — then fell at the admiral's feet, and with graceful earnestness besought his compassion on the unhappy prisoner. Houtman was moved by his supplication, and yielded. The prisoners were set on shore with the exception of two, kept for the service of the ships. They then left the scene of this dismal catastrophe — the sea floating with dead bodies, remnants of prahus, furniture, and numerous articles, intended, doubtless, as gifts.

The voyage continued.

They continued their voyage, and notwithstanding the bloody traces of their passage, already left at several spots, met with general kindness from the people. Everywhere, nevertheless, their arrogance and cupidity were displayed. Nor among themselves did there exist concord or good fellowship. The commander of the Maurice died in a sudden and mysterious manner. The council was assembled, and a surgeon declared him the victim of poison. He was marked with blue spots, his throat was choked with blood, and the hair dropped from his head. A general murmur was excited. Houtman, suspected, was put in irons and examined. His incessant quarrels with the man who was dead were remembered. They had once fought and seized bayonets to stab one another; and the admiral was heard to exclaim that, so long as his enemy lived, he should enjoy no peace; and he added that poison should remove the object of his hatred. In spite of this evidence Houtman was acquitted, though suspicion still lay heavy on his character.

Murder in the ships.

The squadron visited several places of smaller consequence, and would probably have continued to explore

the Archipelago, but that jealousies and bitterness produced open quarrels among the crews, and it was resolved to return to Europe. Little pleasant feeling could exist in an expedition whose leader had been tried for murder, and remained equivocally cleared of the guilt. Two years and four months from the date of their departure, they again reached Texel. The success of their voyage had not been great. More perils than profitable adventures had been encountered; more blood had been spilt than friendly relations established. The name of Holland had been introduced in the further East, associated with terror and devastation; but enough had been seen to spread the spirit of maritime adventure. The idea was at once conceived of establishing a factory in Java.[1]

Voyage to Holland.

Other expeditions.

The Dutch despatched several expeditions to prosecute the enterprise commenced by Houtman. Some met with success; others failed; but every voyager returning from those distant and romantic seas, added his evidence in testimony of the wealth of nature in the Oriental Archipelago. The merchants of Amsterdam fitted out eight vessels under the command of Admiral Van Neck. In November he anchored before Bantam with only three ships in company, and trafficked so successfully for spices, that, within five weeks, the cargo was nearly completed.[2] About a month after the other vessels arrived, displaying flags as signs of joy. They had separated in a storm off the Cape of Good Hope; and their coming, as also that of many after them, was spoken of by the Dutch to the natives—impolitic in them as merchants, for the people were thus taught to

A. D. 1598.

Neck's voyage.

[1] Barchou de Penhoen, *L'Empire Anglais dans l'Inde*, i. 43.

[2] *Voyage de Van Neck. Voyages qui ont servaient à l'Etablissement de Compagnie des Indes.* Constantine.

hold their pepper dear, and prices rose. Van Neck established a factory at Bantam[1], and thence sailed to Sumatra for water, since that of Bantam was white and bred worms. The fleet parted, some making sail for Europe, others for the Moluccas, firing so many salutes as they took their different ways, that the islands, they tell us, shook under the echoes. The four ships that visited the Moluccas opened a trade in spices, engaged alternately in war and barter, but were continually harassed by the Portuguese. The *Amsterdam* left the Spice group after firing 300 volleys of artillery.[2] Van Neck returned to Holland, with abundance of wealth to display as the fruits of his adventure; and the traders of the young republic were fired to emulation of his great achievements. One expedition sailed to Achin, where the king anticipated their treachery by his own. Next year, regarding nothing of what he had done, he sent two ambassadors on a mission to the Netherlands' government. One died by the way. The other reached his destination, and returned, flattered by many promises of friendship.[3]

A. D. 1600.
A. D. 1601.

Rise of Holland.

Rejoicing in the sweetness of their new-found liberty, proud of their eminence as a free state among the ancient monarchies of Europe, delighted by dreams of an Indian Empire that should freight their fleets with the gold, the ivory, and the spices of India, the adventurers of Holland pressed forward eagerly in the race of maritime enterprise. Already their vigour in the use, equal to their valour in the conquest, of freedom, had given to the world the spectacle of a navy only rivalled by that of England. Spain had attempted to

[1] Raffles, ii. 166. [2] Constantine, *Voyage de Van Neck.*
[3] See *Voyage de* Constantine; *Recueil*, i. 199. 509—688.

secure the supremacy of the sea, but all she ever won was a barren empire; while the energies of the United Netherlands, applied to productive industry, promised to elevate, on the level shores of the German Ocean, a commonwealth, superior in opulence and power to any state ever founded on a territory so confined.

CHAPTER IX.

A.D. 1598. A.D. 1600. Voyage of Oliver Van Noort.

In 1598, Oliver Van Noort, of Utrecht, began his celebrated voyage round the world[1], and in June 1600 reached the little grove-covered group of the Ladrones, whose inhabitants made the best canoes ever constructed by savage architects. Many of these ingenious islanders visited the ships and brought articles for barter. They appeared amphibious, plunging into the sea, and diving into deep water, for pieces of iron thrown to entice them into displays of skill. The men were finely formed and active. The women were of considerable beauty, with gracefully rounded limbs, and delicate forms, concealed only by a girdle of broad banana leaves. From the Isles of Thieves, the Dutch passed to the Philippines, where the people seemed to belong to the lowest race of savages. About the middle of October they reached the noble bay of Manilla, and anchored some leagues to the north of the city. They were met by a Portuguese, paddled in a canoe by some natives, who directed them to the town. Most of the people they saw were naked; others wore a cotton girdle. They found Manilla walled, and commanded by the guns of a citadel. Hence they made sail to the Isle of Capuls, where the inhabitants were worshippers of the Devil, and entered the Molucca Sea through Boby Strait.

Arrival in the Archipelago.

Here an incident occurred, which illustrates the spirit

[1] De Constantine, *Recueil*, ii. 1. 130.

of that age and the humanity of the Dutch naval officers. There was a Spanish pilot on board one of the ships who was allowed to sit at table in the cabin and treated very kindly. Falling ill one day he imprudently hinted that he had been poisoned, and repeated the charge before some officers. A council of war was held, and it was resolved to throw the poor pilot overboard to punish the slander he had uttered.

Van Noort now made sail for Borneo, and captured by the way several vessels laden with Portuguese merchandise, which had been abandoned by their owners, and were drifting over the sea. On the 14th of December they saw two ships, bearing from the Straits of Manilla, which they at first mistook for frigates. A nearer view discovered them to be traders bound for Borneo, "qui y faiseaient le commerce," and an engagement ensued. The merchantmen, never unprepared for war, closed. One broadside from the Dutch was poured in. The Spaniards steered alongside their ships, threw a body of men over the bulwarks, — a martial band, glittering in gilded helmets, bucklers, and all kinds of barbaric armour. "Yield dogs!" they shouted, rushing on the Hollanders, who shook under their onset, but rallied, drove back the assailants, and pursued them to their own decks. The fight continued all day. The vessels were locked together. Each party of the belligerents alternately scaled the bulwarks of the other, and at length the Spaniards threatened to prevail. The Dutch energies appeared to slacken. They appeared ready to surrender. But their leader scouted the idea, went below the bridge, and threatened to blow up the ship if his men refused to rally. They resumed their courage. An impetuous onslaught was made on the enemy, who sought to disengage their vessels and sheer off. Meanwhile two Chinese junks came in view, crowded with

Fight with Spaniards.

men, but feared to approach within range of the storm of shot that poured from the great guns of the *Maurice* and the *Amsterdam*. At length the flag of Holland was carried to the mast-head of the Spanish vessels. The largest of these went down, overwhelming with her great numbers of the dead, and leaving above 200 of the living struggling with the waves. The cries of Miseracordia! with which these drowning wretches appealed to the mercy of their conquerors, were unheeded; and the Dutch sailed amid them, knocking on the head as many as they could reach, and steered for Borneo.[1] They were the first voyagers of the nation who visited that island.[2]

Massacre of the Spaniards.

Arriving off the mouth of the Bruné river, they saw many armed prahus, kept by the Sultan for the protection of the coast villages and the fishers' fleets. A Chinese pilot was sent to the king, with a present, and many assurances of friendship, and good intentions. A traffic was at once commenced, in pepper, camphor, fruit, and provisions, in exchange for Chinese cottons. The manufactures of Holland were refused, though European money was cordially welcomed. The wily sovereign of Bruné, experienced in Spanish policy, was courteous in his dealings with the strangers. On the other hand they were compelled to be vigilant against surprise, as even then the capital of Borneo Proper was reputed to be a nursing-place of piracy. More than one attempt, indeed, was made on the ships, and on the 5th of January Noort departed, bearing away no good impression of the people or their king.[3] He visited Java[4], into which the use of tobacco was about this time

Reach Borneo.

Traffic.

A. D. 1601.

Visit Java.

[1] De Constantine, *Recueil*, ii. 111.

[2] Logan, *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*, ii. 504.

[3] Harris, *Collection*, i. 35.

[4] Logan, *Notices of Intercourse with Borneo, J. I. Arch.* ii. 505.

introduced by his countrymen, and, after collecting much valuable information connected with the geography and the resources of the Archipelago, returned to Rotterdam.

New enterprises.

In December, 1599, four vessels of the New Company of Bantam, which were at Amsterdam, were despatched under Caarden, and after a voyage of eleven months reached Achin. The king consented to a treaty, allowed a factory to be established, regulated the price of pepper, and entered into all the preliminaries for trade; but faithlessness on one side, and rapacity on the other, disappointed both.

English Company formed.

While the Dutch were making their first experiment of trade in the Indian Archipelago, the English were projecting others. A company was formed in London to open the commerce of the East[1]; and in May, 1601,

Lancaster's voyage.

Lancaster sailed with five ships to prosecute the enterprise. He reached Achin, was favourably received, concluded a treaty of peace, obtained permission to establish a factory[2], took a cargo of pepper, and steered for the Moluccas. During the passage of the straits he made prize of a large Portuguese merchantman, richly laden with cottons and spices, and, after other adventures, returned to England, satisfied with the success of his voyage.[3] From that period a succession of enterprises took place, and the profits acquired were always above 100, and seldom below 200, per cent. The early attempts of our countrymen in the East were exclusively directed to the islands; and it was not until some years after, that an agent of the company, learning that the cotton fabrics of the continent were

[1] Purchas, *Pilgrimage*, i. 139.; see also 160.

[2] Raffles, *History*, Introd. i. 22.

[3] Barchou de Penhoen, *L'Empire Anglais dans l'Inde*, i. 33.

highly prized among the populations of Java, Sumatra, and the Spice group, recommended the settlement of a factory at Surat and Cambaye.[1]

War beyond the line.

Intelligence of every movement in the Archipelago was transmitted to Holland, and the active ambition of her merchants urged them to seize forthwith a share in the empire of Indian trade. A fleet was equipped for the Moluccas, and an intermittent warfare was carried on amid the channels of that group, as well as in the neighbouring seas. The Portuguese forts were attacked, and several advantages were gained over the original conquerors of the islands. Two ships sailed for Banda, passing by the way the isle of Sepai, an object of terror to all the natives of the group. It was, they said, the abode of a devil, and to approach it was perilous. Should a stray fisherman happen to go too near, he sought to escape with all speed, and to conciliate the king of darkness by chaunting hymns of homage and adulation. The Dutch were accompanied by no superstitious fears, and boldly sailed among the islands, to establish their authority, and secure the prize of commercial monopoly. Few narratives of travel are more copious or interesting than those which describe their adventures at the commencement of the seventeenth century in the Indian seas.[2]

The Devil's isle.

Spanish policy in the Philippines.

While the English were introducing their flag in several quarters of the Archipelago, and the Dutch were commencing their war upon the independence of the islands[3], the Spaniards endeavoured to consolidate their position in the Philippines. For some years they had enjoyed a comparative tranquillity, though their commerce was not flourishing with any remarkable

[1] Barchou de Penhoen, *Empire Anglais dans l'Inde*, i. 34.

[2] *Voyages de la Compagnie des Indes.* Constantine.

[3] *First Relations between the Dutch and Achinese*, 1602. Temminck, ii. 18.

A. D. 1602. Embassy from Japan.

vigour. In 1602, the emperor of Japan sent an embassy to the governor soliciting the privilege of trade with Manilla, as well as the aid of some skilful shipwrights.[1] The Spaniards were gratified by the request, and determined to miss no opportunity of strengthening their commercial position, especially with an empire so opulent and powerful as that of Japan was reported to be.

A. D. 1603. Embassy from China.

In the next year they received an ambassador from the emperor of China. That potentate sent three mandarins, to inquire into the truth of a report current among his people, that the fort of Cavite in Manilla was built of solid blocks of gold. Perhaps this was a fiction invented to conceal the character of a spy; but if it was the true design of the mission, there was probably good reason in the Spaniards to fear an invasion of their islands.

Rumour of its design.

Rumour magnified the schemes of the emperor, and an army of a hundred thousand men was reported to be in preparation. On these suspicions the settlers acted. Indeed a circumstance did soon occur to justify their vigilance, but none to excuse the events that followed, which stand distinguished in the annals of the Archipelago among the most portentous atrocities by which the European name has been disgraced. We must remember it was perpetrated by the representatives of Spain, the leader of religion in the old world, and once the inheritor of an empire as extensive as that of Rome.

The Chinese in Manilla.

The Chinese in Manilla formed two classes, — the annual traders, who now resided in the city for a short time in the intervals of their voyages, and the settlers, who inhabited an isolated quarter outside the gates.[2]

[1] Crawfurd, ii. 466. The Philippine envoys were, in 1597, murdered in Japan. — *Chin. Rep.* vi. 466, 467.

[2] Walton, *Preliminary Discourse*, 36.

This suburb was exclusively their own. An opulent merchant of their nation, who had embraced Catholicism, and lived on terms of cordial amity with the Spaniards, was still willing to conciliate his countrymen, who, perhaps, were indignant at his apostasy and free consort with the barbarians. He, therefore, undertook to build a wall round their quarter. The work was commenced without concealment or fear. Immediately the Spanish jealousy was inflamed, and the erection of the wall was construed into the first act of a conspiracy. No less a design than a massacre of all the Christians was imputed to the Chinese. Danger appeared to threaten from the completion of their undertaking. From all the wealth of devices at their command, the Spaniards selected the boldest, and prepared to protect their own safety by an achievement absolutely astounding for the magnitude of its cruelty. [1]

Their suburb.

Design imputed to them.

To slaughter the whole Chinese population, numbering 25,000, was the bold project. The historian of the transaction seeks for it many palliations. That the Chinese rebelled; that they set fire to some houses, and laid a third of the town in ashes; that they killed some Indians, and cut to pieces a body of 130 Spaniards sent against them; that they paraded the heads of the officers to excite a revolt; — these are the excuses which were considered sufficient to justify the gigantic crime, and which have induced an English writer to doubt whether any other measures could prudently have been adopted. [2]

Plan to massacre them.

Apology for the outrage.

The massacre commenced. The victims fell by thousands. Some fled into the interior, like the Singhalese of Ceylon, "to seek the company of beasts on

The slaughter.

[1] Crawfurd, ii. 459.

[2] Walton, *Preliminary Discourse.*

mountains, rather than be subject to the more beastly villanies of men."[1] Some killed themselves to avoid the sword of the enemy. In a perfect frenzy of ferocity, the Spaniards plied their works, encouraged by the priests, who declared that Francis was among them, urging on the havoc, and assisting to point the guns. The unhappy Chinese, driven from place to place, sought to defend themselves by the hurried erection of fortifications; but they were hunted from cover to cover, and 23,000 of them fell under the hand of the enemy. A miserable remnant, houseless and poor to beggary, escaped to China, and the rest, falling into the clutches of the Spaniards, were hanged.[2]

Number of victims.

Conduct of the Chinese emperor.

The narrative of these transactions reached the Emperor's ear, and explanations were required from the Spaniards. They apparently found it easy to conciliate him. Probably the Imperial savage neither expected nor cared for a satisfactory reply. His viceroy declared he was in no concern respecting the lives of such people: perhaps, indeed, the common spirit of despotism was gratified by the extinction of a body of men who might be as energetic in rebellion as in commerce. Be this as it may, the paternal government of China was little affected by solicitude for the disasters of its subjects; and a fleet of richly laden prahus visited Manilla next year.[3]

From these domestic enemies of their own creation the Spaniards turned to others, not only formidable to European settlers, but to the whole commerce of the further East. The pirates from the south, whose marauding expeditions were bold and destructive,

[1] Faria y Sousa, *History of Portuguese Asia.*
[2] Walton, *Preliminary Discourse*, 38.
[3] *Spanish Colonial History*, *Chin. Rep.* vii. 472.

visited the Isle of Ran, near Zebu, and carried off 1000 people to their slave-marts in Sulu. The strongholds of these buccaneers had been attacked by the Spaniards, but the assailants were driven off by the pirate islanders with great loss. Another fleet sailed to Panay, and captured 500 men. We thus see illustrated the rigour of that system which has progressed in a parallel line with European influence in the Archipelago. There were no peace-societies to protect the freebooter against the legitimate trader; but the weakness of civilisation at that period performed for them the same office. Had it not been, however, for the war continually waged against them, they would probably have swept the Archipelago of every trading barque, and created among the islands of the further East a mighty rendezvous of pirates to devastate all the coast of Asia. Though the Spaniards were unable to subdue, they succeeded in checking, them; and the Dutch, readily joining in a crusade against the enemies of all commerce, aided in preserving the Archipelago from the unrivalled sovereignty of the Malayan buccaneers.

The Philippine buccaneers.

Their ravages.

Many peculiar features are characteristic of piracy in the Oriental Archipelago, and these have distinguished it from the earliest times. At the period we are now engaged upon, indeed, the adventurers of every country followed a hybrid occupation, partly merchants and partly privateer, though the buccaneering system of the further East wore a more remarkable character. The petty sovereigns derived their revenue from the pillage of the trader, but feared openly to identify themselves with these transactions. In this has lain one difficulty in the way of repressing such outrages. Now pirate, now merchants; now engaging to make war upon the freebooters, now

Characteristics of piracy.

participating their gains, the princes of Sulu and Borneo would not assume the bold attitude of the Algerine Dey; but escaped the responsibility of their acts by wearing a false character, which, indeed, has secured them an apology from more than one among the leaders of opinion in an age more enlightened than that of Drake and Raleigh. The ruler of Bruné was among these equivocal personages. He notoriously encouraged the pirates to prey on all people but his own — to plunder whom was the especial privilege of his royalty, but often professed a liberal love of honest trade, when circumstances rendered it politic. When Van Warwyk, in 1604, visited the coast of Borneo in quest of diamonds at Succadana, eight Dutchmen, navigating an unarmed vessel, were brought to the court of Bruné. Such spoil was a dangerous possession, and the king politely sent them to their countrymen's squadron. From him and the chiefs they experienced fair treatment, though the people, unused to such courtly acts, persevered in their accustomed brutality.[1] Many attempts were at this time made to extend the Dutch commerce along the shores of Borneo.

Freebooting princes.

A. D. 1604.

Celebes.

In the neighbouring island of Celebes, hitherto all but a blank on the map of the Archipelago, Portuguese missionaries were endeavouring to make proselytes among the chiefs of Goa, Macassar, and Pullo. They offered the king of these territories a Bible, but a Malayan convert to the Muslim faith had already offered him a Koran. It is related that he was dubious of a choice, until the hereditary senators of the state advised him to kiss the Prophet's book,

The Bible and the Koran.

[1] Valentyn, quoted by Logan, *Notices of Intercourse with Borneo.*

since it came first, and God never allowed error to precede truth.

Conversion of Celebes by the Mohammedans.

In Celebes, as in Ceylon [1], the conversion of the king implied the conversion of his people. In conjunction with them the Malay apostle spread his faith by force of arms through the neighbouring state of Boni, and among the whole Wajo nation, until all the inhabitants of that coast adopted the new religion, and sent their hearts, in prayer, on a pilgrimage to Mecca. That Mohammedanism spread so rapidly in the Archipelago is accounted for by the number and the zeal of its propagators, as well as by its own nature — more congenial to the ideas of uneducated races than the loftier truths of Christianity. Our faith made only poor conquests, for the Europeans were more deeply engaged in spilling blood than spreading their civilisation. It may be prudent to proceed cautiously in the attack on a nation's old religion; but the Pagan races of the Archipelago were unlike those of the continent. Among the followers of Brahma and Vishnu, there was a wonderful creed, resting on the reputation of immeasurable antiquity, supported by the authority of a vast literature, preached by whole classes of priests, and wedded to the conscience of the people by bigotry, pride, and the fascination of its rites and ceremonies.

The Indian creeds.

Religious sentiments.

Among the islanders existed little more than a vague sentiment, which sought an object of worship in every object of nature; which embodied the divinity of terror in the storm; gave the fiends a residence on lonely and desolate islands, saw a benignant deity in the sun, and heard songs of adoration in the winds; which peopled all creation with spirits, nameless, unknown, and only recognised by the restless instinct which compels men

[1] Tennent, *Christianity in Ceylon*, 93.

to acknowledge some grander power than is displayed on earth; a religion without a system, traditions without an accepted history, and faith only supported by wild fancies. Upon this indefinite creed the apostle of any other more rational could easily make impressions; and this, perhaps, should have induced the civilised conquerors of the Archipelago early to add a religious triumph to the long list of their victories over the ignorant islanders. Nevertheless it is, though easy to declaim, difficult to decide justly upon the duties of men 150 years ago. Whatever the Dutch neglected for truth's sake, they omitted little that could serve their own mercantile ambition.

A. D. 1605. Dutch cruizers.

Their cruizers were constantly scouring the Archipelago, engaging the Spaniards or Portuguese whenever they fell into company with them, and carrying on a war upon the independence of the native powers. The fleet which brought back the ambassador from Achin to Holland was conspicuous for its achievements. In February, 1605, it anchored in the bay of Amboyna, and a body of men landed. To the question, Why did they appear with an aspect so threatening, before a place confided to the governor by the king of Spain? the Dutch answered on the spot, that they had come to capture the fort and conquer the island. The lofty tone of the Spaniards was at once lowered, and they capitulated on honourable terms.[1] Nevertheless, the commandant, accused of some offence, was in danger of suffering a disgraceful punishment. To save him from ignominy, his wife poisoned him. "A strange government," says the historian, "where notorious criminals were not punished, and an innocent person was so persecuted that she

Attack on Amboyna.

Capitulates.

[1] Constantine, *Voyages d'E. J. van der Hagen*, ii. 295. 325.

who loved him took away his life, lest they should take away his honour, who had none of their own."[1]

Thence the squadron made sail to Tidor, where much bloodshed took place. The fort was stormed and captured, after a valiant resistance. The Portuguese were allowed to escape to the Philippines. Their women and children at first took refuge in a strong building on a hill, wholly inaccessible save by a single narrow path, ut embarked on a promise that their lives should be spared and their persons respected.[2] In these enterprises the Dutch were aided by the natives who hoped for a better, and could not imagine a worse, master than they had been accustomed to. Indeed the Portuguese confess, that the people were tired out by their insatiable avarice. To the unhappy, the prospect of any change is adorned with hope, which may explain the submission of mankind to a long succession of oppressors, expecting the tyranny of one to be atoned for by the virtues of his successor.

Capture of Tidor.

Aided by the natives.

Discouraged in no small degree by their losses in the Spice Islands, the Spaniards and Portuguese now turned their arms in a new direction. They endeavoured to establish their power at the western extremity of Sumatra. An expedition was prepared, during an unsuccessful siege of Malacca by the Dutch[4], and sent, professedly by the king of Achin, for allowing the vessels of Holland to trade at his port in contravention of the treaty. There was no disposition on the part of the barbarian prince to confess any fault, or offer any reparation. He met arms with arms, and his

Europeans in Sumatra.

[1] Faria y Sousa, *Hist. of Portuguese Asia.*
[2] Constantine, *Voyage d'E. I. van der Hagen.*
[3] Faria y Sousa, *Hist. of Portuguese Asia.*
[4] Marsden, *History of Sumatra.*

city walls, composed of turf and stones, resisted the assaults of the enemy.

Expedition to the Spice group.

This defeat in the Straits was balanced by a success — the last they enjoyed — among the Spice Islands.[1] Tidor was captured, then Ternate[2], and the king of this — once the capital of a great dominion — was driven to a refuge on the slopes of a high jungly hill. He sent messengers with proposals of peace, offered to yield up his forts with the settlements of the Dutch, promised to deliver up the Spanish deserters, with all his Christian prisoners, his ammunition, arms, and stores, besides ceding two dependent islets. His offers were accepted; a garrison was planted at Ternate, and he was then, by a breach of faith, carried prisoner to Manilla. At Tidor the Dutch had settled; but to revenge the disgrace that had stained their military reputation, the Portuguese and Spaniards fitted out a large armament, which sailed

A. D. 1606.

in February, 1606, and re-established their power. The chiefs of this group already "snuffed the approach of tyranny" from Holland, and conspired to destroy their enemy before he was too powerful to contend with.[3]

Decline of Spanish influence.

The dominion of Spain in the Indian Archipelago, never splendid, became continually more feeble and obscure. In the Philippines a haughty policy galled the spirit of the people, especially of those foreign settlers whom the reported riches of the group had attracted from their own countries. The Japanese had visited the islands in large numbers. In 1591, Taxardo, a man of talent and ambition, had visited Manilla, observed the wealth of the colony and the weakness of its rulers, returned to Japan, and exaggerated them both to his

[1] Marsden, *History of Sumatra.*
[2] Crawfurd, *History of Indian Archipelago.*
[3] Crawfurd, ii. 436.

master, who had risen from the ranks of the people to the imperial throne. The vision of conquest in the Philippines thenceforward played before his eyes, and he long meditated a plan of invasion. His subjects entered into the design with good will, and began by a rebellion, which was suppressed through the influence of the friars.[1] However, their frequent turmoils caused an edict for their expulsion[2], which was imperfectly enforced; for, like the Chinese, they flocked to the Philippines in spite of persecution. Unlike their neighbours of the continent, however, they were a frank, politic, generous race, — qualities which earned for them the flattering description of the Castilian writers, — that they were the Spaniards of the East. Most slaves are cheats, and the Japanese were no exception to the rule. They outwitted their rivals in the marts, and when their presence was intolerable to the conquerors, encouraged their emperor to war. The despot despatched a letter in these terms: — "Acknowledge yourselves my vassals; come without delay to pay me homage, or I will destroy you utterly. These commands I dictate, that they may serve to you as a memorial, and that you may communicate them to the king of Spain and Portugal. Those who offend me cannot escape; but those who obey me sleep in quiet."[3]

Japanese colony.

Letter from the emperor of Japan.

The governor of Manilla received this letter, and deliberated in council upon the answer to be returned. The Jesuits advised an evasive reply; the merchants, weary of the restricted trade between Mexico and Manilla, desired that an embassy should be despatched to the Japanese court. The Jesuits describe it as a ceremony of homage; the Franciscans, as a dignified salute,

Reply.

[1] Walton, *Preliminary Discourse*, 39. [2] Crawfurd, ii. 467.
[3] *Spanish Col. Hist., Chin. Rep.* vii. 299.

Friendly treaty.

such as should be sent by a powerful ruler to one whom he neither despised nor feared. Whatever was the tone of the message it conciliated the emperor, and a treaty of commerce had been concluded, relations of amity established, and a trade actually opened, when the arrogant authority of the Spaniards produced a revolt among the Japanese settlers. It was not the policy of the government, nor the conduct of one governor, that roused these insurrections. An unvarying system of selfishness and oppression was pursued, decade after decade, unmodified by the numerous catastrophes it produced. Occasionally the men were changed, but not the policy, and so nothing was produced by the alterations except a disarrangement of routine, which always ensued. Don Christophal Telles de Almanza succeeded the governor who drove the Japanese to revolt; but, like many of his predecessors, was remarkable for nothing but his superb and sonorous name.

Dutch progress in the Moluccas.

A. D. 1608.

He continued the ineffectual scheme against the Dutch in the Moluccas; but recovering from their defeat, they again asserted themselves masters of that group. A treaty was concluded between them and the king of Ternate, in opposition to the progress of the Spaniards, who were speedily forced to withdraw to the Philippines. There another revolt of the Japanese took place, and was repressed with considerable waste of blood.

In Borneo.

Since the voyage of Oliver Van Noort, Dutch enterprise had directed itself to Borneo; and in October, 1608, an ordinance was issued in council at the factory of Bantam, decreeing the establishment of a factory on the coast of that vast island.[1] A director was named, with power to conclude agreements with the princes

[1] Radamacher, 44—50.; Valentyn, iii. 245.

of Sambas, Santah, Pontianah, Banjar-massin, and Bruné. Succadana, on the west coast, was then governed by a woman, to whom the Dutchman, armed with blank treaties, presented himself with a letter from Prince Maurice of the Low Countries to the independent powers of Borneo. He desired to engage in a special agreement; but the princess refused, declaring the trade of her country was open to all. At war with several of the neighbouring states, as well as the Sumatran principality of Palembang, she declined to secure an ally who might afterwards be her conqueror. A factory was established to watch the interests of the Dutch trade here and at Landock. In 1609, another was settled at Sambas, with the exclusive privilege of commerce.[1]

A. D. 1609.

The active contest between the ambitious traders of Holland with the less vigorous adventurers of Spain was carried on with untiring animosity.[2] One victory won by the first conquerors of the Philippines was counterbalanced by the success of their enemies in negotiations with the native powers of the Archipelago. The treaty concluded at Ternate two years before was ratified, to give the Hollanders a fairer show of fighting in defence of their rightful privileges. These treaties are curious records of Netherlands' policy. They commence with a sounding preamble and hollow exchange of adulation, the Dutch engaging to assist their allies against enemies abroad, and rebels at home, against especially the Spaniards and the Portuguese. All the allies of Ternate were included in this agreement, in return for which the monopoly of cloves was secured with other commercial advantages. At Bantam the

Contest with Spain.

Treaties of peace.

Monopoly of cloves.

[1] Logan, *Notices of Intercourse*, *Journ. Ind. Arch.* iii. 506.

[2] *Spanish Colonial History*, *Chin. Rep.* vii. 473.

king was induced to sign a convention excluding the Spaniards and Portuguese from the trade of his dominions, but granting to the Dutch a strong fort, free traffic, guarantees for life and property, and immunities from duties and taxes.[1] Another of these documents was executed at Banda, placing the islands under the protection of Holland, and pledging the people to sell at a fixed rate the whole spice produce of their soil.

Perpetuation of the war.

Thus the Spaniards had abundant cause of hostility against the Dutch, and collisions repeatedly took place between the squadrons that patrolled the Archipelago. A treaty was signed in Europe, in 1609, engaging the Imperial Crown to amity with her revolted dependency; but the old saying, "No peace beyond the line," was literally true. Conventions drawn up on parchment, and sealed in state offices, extended none of their influence into the New World. There war perpetually reigned, and the hatred of the rivals was fed from a perennial source of mutual injuries. The Spaniards were infuriated by the loss of one of their rich galleons, and with their courage warmed by this provocation they overthrew a Dutch squadron in the Philippine sea, made three prizes, and acquired a booty of five hundred thousand dollars.

Losses of the Spaniards.

Fresh from this triumph, they fitted out a powerful armament to sweep the channels of the Archipelago, and destroy all Dutch vessels, whether found on errands of trade or war. The fleet of the Hollanders refused to meet them except on a vantage ground, overlooked by the batteries of Amboyna, where a strong fortress had been erected. The Spaniards would not venture to the trial of arms on the theatre favourable to their enemies, and withdrew without a battle. Nevertheless their

[1] Raffles, *History of Java*, ii. 166.

hostility was dangerous to Holland. The rising Republic now saw the full value of the Indian islands, and meditated a scheme of conquest that should spread her influence through the length and breadth of the Archipelago. She had been encouraged by the success of her early adventures. Every new expedition opened fresh prospects of wealth and mercantile eminence. A few naval losses were forgotten, while the warehouses of Amsterdam were piled with the spices of the East, and the support of a great navy was considered no burden on a people that acquired through its aid the commerce of the richest countries in India.[1]

Riches acquired by Holland.

The charter accorded by the States General to the Company of Far Countries granted it various privileges. It was empowered to trade at all places eastward of the Cape of Good Hope, to arm its navy, to enlist troops, and erect forts for the protection of its commerce. It was at first established on a capital of six million six hundred thousand florins[2], and administered by ten directors in chief, subject to the unlimited control of the States General. These were authorised to choose, in the name of the supreme authority, governors general of the Netherlands East Indies, to reign for a term of seven years. Each fleet bound for those waters was to be commanded by an admiral responsible only for the acts of those on board, and independent of all others which might at the same time be ranging those remote, and then little known, seas.

A company chartered.

Its organisation.

This organisation served its purpose during the first years of Dutch dominion in the Archipelago. No nation ever enjoyed a more liberal chance of flourishing on the broad and firm foundation of commercial supre-

[1] See Walton, *Preliminary Discourse*, 40.

[2] Temminck, *Coup d'Œil sur les Possessions Neerlandaises*, i. 14.

macy than Holland. Her trade with the Indian islands gave her more wealth, and tempted her to more crimes than any other circumstance in her history.

Its progress.

Seven years of success, stained by numerous outrages, displayed the advantages a consolidated Indian government would bring—in the protection of their commerce, and the fortification of their influence in the further east. Fleets, equipped for war and trade, had opened the golden gates of the Archipelago, and established relations between Holland and Java, Johor, Queda, the Spice Islands, Bengal, Ceylon; — even with China and Japan. Factories had been established at various points, and now that the treaty with Spain withdrew the recognised armaments of that power, and left the seas to be disputed by privateers alone, the Dutch resolved to establish a government for the administration of their affairs in India. The plan was conceived, it is said, by Cornelius Matalief, an able navigator in the service. He was experienced in the trade of the East, and acquainted with its riches. The memorial drawn up by him is a curious document, illustrating strongly the policy of Holland in the Oriental Archipelago. It exhibits considerable familiarity with the condition and the capabilities of the region, together with no small amount of ability.

Plan of conquest.

Memoir on the Indies.

"MEMOIR PREPARED BY ADMIRAL CORNELIUS MATALIEF, ON THE CONDITION AND COMMERCE OF THE INDIES.

"When I consider the state of our country, and the wars by which she is afflicted, with an enemy no less powerful than Albert of Austria, sustained by the House of Spain, as well as by his own House of Austria, it appears to me impossible that our affairs in India can prosper, if committed altogether into the hands of

the Lords Directors. For I cannot conceive how their authority alone should be sufficiently great or respected here in the East to insure the desirable result.

Enemies of the Dutch.

"There are, as enemies here, the Spaniards and the Portuguese, who commenced their adventures more than a hundred years ago, who have already penetrated into many countries, who have built fortresses, and govern, on a regular plan, their numerous subjects. Thus can they conduct their affairs with more security and convenience than we who are compelled to bring from Holland men weakened by the voyage, while they, in their own communities, are fresh, vigorous, and full of health.

Their advantageous situation.

"For although the Portuguese have not enough force in the Indies to do all they plan, and at the same time defend themselves against us, it is far easier to reinforce them than us. Vessels coming from Portugal sail only as far as Goa, where their companies land, and are refreshed before they proceed on the expedition; as also do the Spaniards on their way from the Manillas.

Necessity of territorial acquisition.

"If then we desire permanently and advantageously to establish ourselves in the Indies, it is necessary to possess some point where we shall be welcome and free, on our voyage from Holland. This will be the means of great advantage. There shall we find ready, refreshments for the crews, and refittings for the vessels, which will augment our reputation among those Indian potentates, who have not yet learned to repose full confidence in us. They acknowledge with all willingness, that the Hollanders are a friendly nation, more gentle and tractable than the Spaniards. But they add, 'What matters that to us. They come hither as they wander, and only pause in their passage of the ocean. As soon as their ships are laden, they disappear. We, therefore, are abandoned to the Spaniards and the Portu-

Views of the natives.

guese, impotent to defend ourselves against them, and they will attack us for having traded with their enemies, the Dutch. On the other hand, by allying ourselves with the Spaniards, they at least will protect us in our need. But, if the Hollanders themselves had power enough to protect us, we should have nothing to fear from them, though we trafficked with the Portuguese. They would leave us in peace, and we should only have to manage our own concerns. But at present the best part we can take is to favour the Portuguese, lest they exterminate us.'

Portuguese intrigues.

" These are the reflections which all the Indians make. Besides this, the Portuguese exert all their efforts to persuade them that we have no power, that we are a scattered people, who have scarcely fixed ourselves in our own country, much less are able to erect solid establishments in the Indies; that as for themselves they have settled permanently, and desire to contribute to the prosperity of the original population. It is necessary, therefore, that we devise means to gain over the Indians, to show them we have power, and that we wish to establish ourselves among them. Otherwise we must expect our affairs to be unprosperous.

Commerce of the Indies.

" The commerce of the Indies consists principally, 1. In pepper, which may be had at Bantam, at Johore, at Patani, at Queda, and at Achin. 2. In cloves, which may be had at Amboyna and the Moluccas.

Spices.

3. In nutmeg and mace, or nutmeg flower, which may be had at Banda. 4. In the trade of Cambay. 5. In the trade of the Coromandel coast; and, 6. In the trade of China and Japan.

" If any one of these branches of trade does not remain in a single hand, whether in that of the Portuguese, or in our own, one must destroy the other: the cost of com-

modities will be raised in India, and they will be offered at a miserable price in Europe.

Pepper.

" Nevertheless, with respect to pepper, it is impossible to secure the whole trade in it to ourselves. For, besides the Portuguese, the English have opened an intercourse with Bantam; they have their factories and houses; they traffic in peace, while we are at war with the Portuguese. We defend Bantam and them together, while they reap profits which cost them neither money, blood, nor trouble.

English in India.

" It is impossible to address ourselves to the king of Bantam, who is yet but a child, to engage him in commercial relations with us. He is not yet able to form a bold resolution. It would be necessary also to lavish on him large sums of money at the risk of losing them, for apparently the scheme could not ultimately succeed. I hold it as certain that, should this or any other Indian prince make treaties with us, or with any prince, state, or nation whatever, — treaties, the strictest and most solemnly sworn to, — the moment he finds himself in danger, or foresees a greater advantage to be obtained from others than from his allies, he will never hesitate to break the convention.

Treaties proposed.

" Besides, we are at peace and on good terms with the English. It would be dishonest to seek a device for excluding them from a trade they have already opened. This project, then, cannot be entertained. But it would be easy to take measures that would prevent them from taking any share in the trade for other spices. As for pepper, we must let it serve as ballast, and by this means to offer it at a rate so low, that other nations, finding no profit from the commerce, will be compelled to relinquish it, while we look for our profit to other commodities.

" For, in my opinion, we could easily secure the whole

Plans of conquest.

trade in nutmegs and mace. To effect this, instead of seizing Banda, and building a fort upon it, which would be costly, and render us obnoxious to the Indian princes, this is what I propose:

In Celebes.

"As the sovereign of Macassar is a powerful chief, whose country is populous, and abounds with rice and other productions, which it sends to Malacca and Banda, let us make a treaty with him and send him three vessels, with 200 men, for service by land. These would suffice with the native forces of Macassar to invade Banda, which we might engage to leave in the king's hands, without claiming any reward for our assistance than an agreement that no nation but ours should trade there, and that every year the nuts and the mace shall be delivered us at a fixed price,—namely, that which they command at the time of the expedition.

In the Spice Isles.

"I have no doubt that the king of Macassar would lend his ear to this proposition. In addition we might build, at his expense, an edifice, as large and strong as we will, to hold our merchandise, and protect it against an enemy, in any situation we choose to indicate. As the king would not make his abode on the island, which would be governed by an Orang Kaya, there is no doubt that a few presents to that official would insure his homage to our desires. By these means we may raise a formidable enemy against the Portuguese, and secure to ourselves a powerful friend.

"We might even lay down other conditions to insure the safety of the country: that he should transport the nobles of Banda into his own kingdom, and assign them a place of residence; that a portion of the Macassar nobility should make their abode on the island; that all the chiefs should live in one place, near our factory, instead of dispersing themselves, as at present, in five or

six cities; that every fifteen days the country people should be forced to visit our factory and bring their commodities to sale; that as soon as the crops are collected and prepared they shall be delivered; that they shall pay on the spot; that, to prevent the inconvenience arising from the accumulation of debts, customary in Banda, they shall be forbidden to trust one another, on certain penalties. If things are put on this footing, it seems to me we should be masters of Banda, and bound to the king of Macassar by a tie all but indissoluble.

Clove trade.

" As for the trade in cloves it is difficult to secure it. We have those produced in Amboyna, Luho, and Cambelo, but not those of the Moluccas. The only plan of acquiring them is to drive the Spaniards from Ternate, and it may well be seen that this is not easy to accomplish. Nevertheless I shall not refrain from developing my ideas on the point.

Conquest of Malacca

" The thing does not appear to me impossible. If we desire a strong centre of operations, let us resume the enterprise against Malacca. For if the Portuguese had lost Malacca it would not be easy for them to send from Goa to succour the Moluccas; and I imagine it would not be difficult to cut off the supplies from Manilla to Ternate. It would be necessary, in the first place, to send three or four ships to the king of Mindanao, whose country is well peopled, and who, it is said, can launch fifty corocorros on the sea. All this armament should sail to Panama, or Panato, which is near Manilla, and where there is a place called Pating, only guarded by eighteen Spaniards and very indifferently peopled. This port might be destroyed, or, if the blacks of Mindanao would guard it, we might deliver it up to them, as it abounds in rice and other productions which are transported to Ternate.

Of Manilla.

" Thence I would proceed immediately to Manilla,

and destroy every vessel in the port, so that they could send no succour to Ternate. Afterwards despatch to Mindanao a ship of 160 or 200 tons to cruize with the king's corocorros in the Taquina Straits, to capture any sail that might be bound for Ternate. There is no other route, and, after taking one or two, no others would venture, so the garrison would perish of hunger. For, as to rendering ourselves masters of the island by force of arms, I believe the Spaniards are so numerous and well fortified there, that a large armament would be necessary to drive them out.

"It would be difficult for them to procure cottons, the few they have now being brought by Chinamen to the Manillas. This scarcity of cottons would irritate the inhabitants, who would have to send to Malacca, which is not to be easily done. If we could also despatch a cruizer to Ternate it might aid by harassing the Spaniards.

Chinese trade.

"The commerce of China depends also on Malacca. If we chase the Spaniards from this place, they must renounce the Chinese trade. With respect to the Chinese themselves, I have nothing now to remark. When I have extended my travels into their country I may speak with more authority.

"The trade in cottons on the Coromandel coast is of great importance, since all the people of India are clothed in these fabrics. They are of different kinds — for each nation according to its taste. One sort is manufactured at Negapatam, another at Masulipatam. If Malacca were wrested from the Portuguese they could no longer carry on this traffic, even though they should keep Negapatam.

Scheme of extensive trade.

"If no means are found to return and besiege Malacca, they may employ their energies to obstruct our commerce with Coromandel. For, as that is a regular coast,

with little depth of water, they can always steer between our ships and the shore. There is also great danger in the navigation, if an enemy be active and watchful. They can communicate in eight days with Goa, whence it is easy to dismiss their armaments against us.

"It is evident that if we can chase the Portuguese from Malacca, they must abandon their trade with the Coromandel coast, for no channel would remain open to them, and in their other traffic no profit would accrue, since the expense would overbalance the gain. Thus, I believe, their commerce in the East Indies depends on Malacca, and that to capture the one is to destroy the other.

Trade with Java.

"After this the inhabitants of Bantam would no doubt perceive that, when our establishments are fixed, the English having no other trade save that in pepper, would no longer make their long voyages with so much expense. The pepper of Jambu, of Indragiri, and other places now brought to Bantam, would be carried to Malacca, where cottons would be offered in return.

With Bengal.

"I know not whether the Portuguese be powerful in Bengal. All who speak on the subject say, a fine trade might be opened there. There are two ports, one named Porto Pegueno, the other Porto Grande. As far as I can remember, the latter is the more western, and belongs to the king of Cambaya. It offers nothing except rice, but that in great abundance, which is taken to Cochin: Pegueno is to the east, and carries on a considerable trade in cottons.

With Arracan.

"It would be useful to send two ships to Arracan, and endeavour to trade there, especially as the king has earnestly invited us. A Portuguese, named Philip de Britto, possesses a fort there, with eighty men. It is situated fifty miles inland, and holds all the people in

awe. Powerful as is the king of Arracan, he is unable to drive out this Portuguese, who alarms all the kingdom of Pegu, which is distracted by civil war. It is immensely rich, particularly in precious stones.

With Malabar.

"I do not think we shall effect much at Cambaya, while the Portuguese influence is strong on the coast of Malabar. The king has not the best opinion of us. Let us wait until he knows us better, and understands the policy of the Spaniards. For while he refuses permission to visit his ports, there will be great danger, large ships being unable to enter. Besides, his country is so near Goa, that whenever we arrive the Portuguese will be ready with their forces, while no aid could possibly arrive for us.

"All I have said shows the importance of Malacca, in the establishment we propose in the Indies; therefore it is worthy of consideration. It is time to fix upon a place of secure retreat. Any other must cost prodigious sums before it can compare with Malacca, and no other can be more advantageously situated."

Dutch policy of conquest.

The bold, yet subtle, eloquence of Matalief represents admirably the policy of the Dutch East India Company. It is remarkable as a disproof of the assertion put forward by the historians of Holland, that, when their countrymen first planted a factory on the shores of Java, their ambition pointed to no territorial dominions, no conquest among the islands, no monopoly to the exclusion of other nations. We find them, in the dawn of their intercourse, plotting the subversion of the Spanish and Portuguese authority and the expulsion, by the means of craft, of the English from the Archipelago. Fair professions of honesty fill the memorial; yet it discovers a scheme to drive our countrymen from the shores of Java, by selling pepper at a

false price in Europe. Another commercial people has entered with us into the rivalry of Eastern trade, and endeavoured to break up our privilege to supply the world with its products; but it is by bold competition, not by force or fraud. Holland never adopted this liberal course, and whatever she acquired, was won by arms or by intrigue.

CHAPTER X.

A. D. 1609. Governor-general of the Dutch East Indies.

On the 27th of December, 1609, the States-General declared it urgent to establish a governor-general for the administration of the Dutch East Indian possessions, and the protection of their trade. The first choice was made by the supreme legislature and all his successors, by the company, subject to its approval. The influence exercised by the States-General as an imperial authority was no more than a moderate reserve of power. As a private association of merchants, the company assumed, nevertheless, a public responsibility, and nothing was more desirable than the control of the personal will of the traders by the voice of the majority in the mother state. All the acts of the governor-general in council and the directory of the East India Company were to be proclaimed in the name of the States-General of the United Provinces. The defined duties of the association were, the preservation of territorial acquisitions, the maintenance of order and justice among their subjects, and a regard for the interests and the dignity of Holland in all their intercourse with foreign races.

Right of nomination.

By reserving the right of veto on the nomination of a governor-general, the mother country made that functionary its real representative, and accepted responsibility for all his acts. This is no slight consideration in a review of Netherlands East Indian policy, since every achievement of their ministers abroad, unless formally condemned at home, reflected its credit or its guilt upon the mother country.

First governor-general. Peter Both.

Their choice first fell upon Peter Both, infinitely lauded by the historians, who extol, in unmeasured eulogy, his prudence, ability, courage, and experience. The hour of his selection was happy, say his biographers, since no man was more fit than he to check the insolence of the Portuguese and Spanish conquerors. He was armed with ample instructions, and enjoined most urgently to spread the influence of the Company among the islands of the Molucca sea. To acquire, if possible, an exclusive trade with those fragrant gardens of the East was among his distinct duties, and the counsellors appointed to deliberate with him were commanded to aid in the enterprise. It is well to note these details, as the apologists of the Netherlands policy now plead, in defence of their acts, the irresistible control of events. The plans for spreading the Dutch empire in the Archipelago are contained in the charts of their first governor-general, who sailed from Texel in January, 1610, with a squadron of seven vessels. A. D. 1610. The boldness of a modern historiographer[1] denies this original intention of conquest. By him the complexion of their policy is totally changed. They are described as an association of merchants, who limited their ambition to the possession of factories, and one central point of operation, without projecting their desires into the sphere of territorial acquisition. The force of events, the rivalry of the Portuguese, and the necessity of subduing into respect the native princes, compelled them to rule where they only wished to trade, and to extend with arms the influence they sought to rest upon commercial intercourse alone. A company of peaceful traders, they were compelled to assume the tone of conquerors and the habits of war; to become sovereigns

Dutch historians.

[1] Temminck, *Coup d'Œil sur les Possessions Neerlandaises*, i. 15.

in self-defence. How far this theory, urged by the Dutch historian, can be reconciled with truth, the spirit of their charter and the narrative of their achievements will prove.

Nor can any advantage be derived from the attempt. Posterity will never look back with less admiration on the early efforts of Holland, because she contemplated an empire in the East. It has been a dream with every nation, and an honourable ambition has urged them to secure it. No states at that period held any delicate respect for the principles of international law. Vittoria and Soto had written, asserting a right of independence possessed by the inhabitants of the New World[1]; and Grotius[2] had defended with his masterly pen the liberty of commerce on the sea; but arms were still the umpire, and the power that could discover no apology for its acts in the code of international ethics referred its defence to the sword. That Holland invaded the Indian islands to found an empire among them, is no charge upon her national reputation. There are, among great theorists upon the duties of states, those who contend that the destinies of Europe will not be fulfilled until her arms have spread over the length and breadth of Asia; but it is in the details, not in the object, of their policy, that the guilt of the Dutch lies. Some of their writers repudiate these acts, others defend them; but the former most clearly comprehend their duty, and the dignity of the historians' task.

Law of nations.

Character of Dutch policy.

While Holland was preparing to lay down a solid foundation for her projected empire in the Indian seas, the English contemplated a grand career of commercial enterprise. The Spaniards were gathering the last har-

Other European enterprises.

[1] Mackintosh, *Retrospect of Scholastic Ethics*, 108.
[2] Heeren, *Historical Researches.*

vest of their triumphs in South America; and the French were disturbing the icebergs of the North, in the establishment of fisheries and hunting stations. The acquisition of dominion in the East was, therefore, a desire inspired by the spirit of the times, and they who impute to the Dutch a humbler ambition do them a very ill office.

A. D. 1611. Arrival of Peter Both.

Peter Both reached Java in 1611, and landed some soldiers at Bantam with thirty-six women, brought out for the comfort of the Dutch settlers. He chose his seat of authority at Jakatra. It was well situated, and naturally adapted as the site of a commercial city. In 1611, therefore, exactly a hundred years after the foundation of Portuguese authority at Malacca, the Dutch planted theirs in Java. Peter Both proceeded forthwith to exercise the power confided to him, and lost no time in introducing the influence of his country to those whose favour would be a valuable acquisition. [1]

Foundation of Dutch influence in Java.

Politics of of that island.

From the fall of Mojopahit, during a hundred years, Java had been divided into a number of small states, ruled by descendants of the first Mohammedan missionaries. The principal of these were Damak, Cheribon, Padang, and Jakatra, on the eastern coast, and Bantam on the north. The other districts were still more minutely shared among petty chiefs, half-priest, half-soldier, who rested their title to public favour on the aid their sword had given to the overthrow of the Hindu empire. About the end of the fifteenth century a series of distractions had commenced, which resulted in the ascendancy of another state, that of Mataram, which gradually spread its power over the richest provinces of the island. The crimes of its princes were as conspicuous as their ability. When the Dutch arrived, the first of the family occupied the throne with the title of

Native states. A. D. 1612.

[1] Crawfurd, ii. 342—414.

Panambahan, or "object of obeisance."[1] He gave them permission to settle at Jakatra, to erect a fort and factory, and added several privileges of trade. It was stipulated that all merchandise brought in other than Dutch or Chinese vessels should pay duty, while the Spaniards and Portuguese were excluded altogether.[2]

Rivalry of Europeans.

The rancour that sprang up between the Imperial nation and its revolted dependency was aggravated to the last excess of bitterness by mutual injuries, vindictively inflicted.

A. D. 1612.

In 1612 the governor-general wrote from Jakatra to the king of Tidor, inflaming his mind against the Spaniards, describing to him their ferocity, "which has destroyed in our country upwards of forty thousand persons, and put to the sword, or worked to death in the mines, millions of people, whose blood, as well as ours, cries out to heaven." Such and similar means were employed to excite the Indian chiefs against the original conquerors of the Archipelago, that the Dutch might insinuate their influence into the places they hoped in this manner to make void.

Their jealousy of England discovered itself less boldly, partly perhaps because our countrymen were their rivals in the new empire of the sea, and partly because they were engaged on the wider arena of Hindostan.

English East India Company.

The first enterprises of the East India Company were, as already shown, directed to the further East, to the raw silk, fine calicoes, indigo, cloves, and mace of Sumatra, Java, and Amboyna, especially the gold, camphor, and benjamin of Achin and Teku; the pepper of Bantam; the gold, silver, and painted deer skins of Siam; the silver, copper, and iron of Japan; the diamonds, bezoar stones, and gold of Borneo; the

Early voyages.

[1] Crawfurd, *History of Indian Archipelago.*

[2] Raffles, *History of Java*, ii. 166.

rice of Macassar; the nutmegs of Banda, and the other valuable commodities which could be obtained in exchange for the woven fabrics of India.[1] After a struggle with the Portuguese they reached Surat. On the continent they were favourably received, and, by an imperial firman, permitted to remain. The splendour of the Mogul empire had not yet begun to fade; and to erect a British dominion, that should overflow the borders of that colossal monarchy was a dream which had not yet dazzled the imaginations of the traders in their humble factory.[2] The merchants, also, had not become disciples of that commercial philosophy now universally accepted. They aspired to furnish the luxury of Europe with spices, gums, ointments, perfumes, and precious silks, rather than to supply millions with the humbler conveniences of life. They looked, therefore, on the cotton trade of India more as a means of procuring the cloves and nutmegs of the islands than as the staple of their commercial transactions. Events forced them into the broader system; and the experience of a few years proved its advantages; but it was long before they abandoned the desire to include the Moluccas in their sphere of operations. The Dutch, fresh risen to liberty, competed on favourable ground with the English, who were struggling through the dark approaches to a civil war. Nevertheless, while an enemy threatened in Spain, they hesitated to declare a rupture of their peace with England[3], though they trenched on her privileges in Java.

Ideas of commerce.

Unable to maintain a firm position in that island, their countrymen resorted to Sumatra, where Captain Best presented to the king of Achin a letter and some

A. D. 1613. Mission to Achin.

[1] Bruce's *Annals*, i. 188.

[2] Mill, *British Empire in India*. Wilson, i. 29. [3] Ibid, i. 4.

presents from James the First. Permission was granted to establish a factory, and the envoy, invested with an honourable native title, was diverted with battles of elephants, buffaloes, rams, and tigers.[1] The princes of Achin were never uncourteous to the English.

Dutch progress.

Meanwhile the Dutch continued active. They concluded treaties with the king of Ternate, and other petty sovereigns of the Moluccas — conventions, in which all the substantial advantage was secured to the Europeans. Of the privileges they obtained, the chief was a monopoly in the clove trade. One of the most significant among these agreements was that between the Prince of Bantam and Commodore Schlott in 1613. The Company bound itself to protect him against all enemies, and he promised to induce the people of Banda to follow his example. The exclusive enjoyment of trade, liberty of marriage with free women, and permission to preach Christianity were numbered among the stipulations. This peaceful conquest was succeeded by the seizure of the Portuguese settlements in Solor and Timor, and a rapid series of movements carried widely the seeds of their authority in the Moluccas. It is interesting to note the ebb and flow of their influence at this period of their colonial history. Fifteen years after their first visit to Java, and three after the organisation of their plans, they were powerful in the Archipelago. They possessed three forts in Ternate, one in Morty, three in Machian, and one in Batchian. The Spaniards and Portuguese had one in Ternate, three in Tidor, and several in Gilolo, possessing also a patrol guard of a frigate, a smaller ship, and numerous rowing galleys.

Their conquests.

Rapid growth of power.

The progress of the Dutch flag, pushed forward often

[1] Marsden, *History of Sumatra*, 359.

under false pretences[1], caused them infinite alarm. They fitted out a squadron to attempt once more a general conquest of the Spice Islands. If they had failed before, they failed more signally now. The native princes were protected by the broadsides of Dutch men-of-war, and the Spaniards, with disgrace and loss, were driven from the group. Nor did their enemies pursue the Spartan policy, of confining their triumph to the field of action. Ten ships of war were equipped to pursue the defeated armament, to ravage the Philippines, and pillage all their coasts.[2] A leader well versed in similar occupations was entrusted with the expedition, and he left, as the evidence of his fidelity, some smoking towns and villages, surrounded by wasted fields, whose unhappy tenants had fled into the interior. The explorers' path was literally lit up with the flames of the native habitations which commemorated the visits of Europeans, though, in justice to the English be it said, they had, at least in the Indian Archipelago, no share in the crimes which rendered Christendom the terror of the island races.

Devastation of the Archipelago.

The temptations to trade with them were strong in the native breast. The people of Banda, in spite of their treaty, furnished them with cloves. The king of Achin wrote a letter to the king of England, desiring an alliance for mutual benefit. He styled himself lord of all Sumatra,—a name which he had probably learned from the Europeans, to whom alone it is familiar.[3] He begged that our monarch would choose, from the beauty of his nation, a woman to be the wife of the Achinese king. She should be the mother, he said, of a son,

Temptations to trade.

Letter from Achin to England.

[1] Crawfurd, ii. 436.

[2] *Spanish Colonial Hist., Chin. Rep.* vii. 474.

[3] Marsden, *History of Sumatra*, 359.

whom he would make ruler over all the Pepper Countries. His friendship, however, was of a fitful character, and he neglected the interests of his people's trade, to pursue a piratical war upon his more feeble neighbours.

A. D. 1614. His contemporary, the sultan of Mataram, was, in the same manner, carrying his arms along the eastern provinces of Java, too deeply intent, perhaps, on schemes of conquest, to guard himself effectually against the insinuation of Dutch influence. The brief, but successful, career of the first governor-general closed in January, 1615. He sailed with four richly freighted vessels on his homeward voyage. Off the Mauritius, a great storm swallowed up three of the ships, with Peter Both and many of his countrymen, while the remaining barque reached Texel in safety with news of the disaster. Holland is grateful to this unfortunate man, as the able founder of her empire in the East.

Career of the first governor-general. A. D. 1615.

Second governor-general. His successor was Gerard Reynst, whose talents were highly prized by the Council of Seventeen, or Court of Directors. They instructed their "brave and worthy" servant to rule with prudence the territories placed under his care, especially Banda, and to promote with all possible integrity and diligence the Dutch trade in the further East. He commenced his administration by securing the relations of the Company with the king of Jakatra, who promised the utmost liberty to their merchants, and engaged to put their factories beyond danger of destruction by fire, by demolishing all the wooden habitations near them. Henceforward none but stone houses were allowed in their vicinity.

His voyage. From Java he made sail to Amboyna, and expelled all the English who had unlawfully settled there, and were conniving with the natives at a contraband trade in spices. Thence he steered for Banda, and, on the day of his arrival, the fires of Gunong Api broke out with a

noise so terrible that the whole region was filled with alarm. A singular coincidence is noticed by the Dutch historians. Two hundred and nine years afterwards, when a governor-general again sailed, in the same month, from Amboyna to Banda, the volcano burst into explosions, emitting vast columns of smoke, hot stones, and cinders, which rained down on all sides of the island. On the occasion now remarked, a hail of scorching fragments from the crater fell over the sea for miles, and the fort was so battered that its artillery could not easily be restored to action.

With his advent so welcomed, Gerard Reynst brought a large squadron into the group, and captured Pulo Aye, one of the nutmeg islands; but the people, nerved with a sudden impulse of courage, immediately rose and expelled the invaders of their soil.[1]

Any enemy of the Portuguese was in some measure the ally of the Dutch, who, therefore, rejoiced in the dangers that threatened Malacca from the armies of its old foe. The kings of Achin never wearied of the war against the arrogant masters of the peninsula. Armament after armament had been destroyed, but no defeat was effectual to quench the hope of ultimate success. Four years had now been spent in the preparation of an armada. It was at length furnished with all the equippage of barbarian warfare, and fitted for sea. If we believe the historian's account[2], which is, however, doubted by an able and judicious writer[3], a hundred large galleys, with several cannon, and four hundred smaller prahus were launched. Every chief in the kingdom was compelled, on peril of his life, to assist in this holy crusade against the enemies, at once of the faith

Siege of Malacca.

[1] Crawfurd, ii. 437. [2] Marsden, *History of Sumatra*, 360.
[3] Hon. E. Blundell, *Journal of Indian Archipelago.*

and the freedom of the land. The people were forced to serve without pay, and to bear the charge of supplies and stores. The prince, with his family, accompanied the expedition, and the host of prahus made way for Malacca. Before evening they came in view of some Portuguese ships, and several shot fell among them; but they refused to give back the fire. At dawn, the Achinese fleet was discovered, drawn up in the form of a crescent. The enemy's force was small, but infinitely superior in the resources of skill and effective arms. A desperate engagement continued without intermission until midnight, when the native armament gave way. Flaming and shattered wrecks broke the whole line of the armada, drifting amid the prahus, and increasing the confusion of the rout. Every oar and sail was bent, and the unwieldy mass was steered to Bencoolen, whence it swept up the coast to the port of Achin. The Portuguese, though remaining masters of the Straits, refrained, less from forbearance than from fear, from pursuing their victory, and retired to Malacca. An act of mutual humanity, which the barbarians were the first to propose, signalised this struggle. The prisoners were exchanged.[1] Other wars and rebellions distracted the Archipelago: Spaniards, Portuguese, and Dutch, sharing with the native powers, in perpetuating the confusion. The English alone remained pacific, entering into friendly relations with the king of Macassar. Matalief's proposal had not been embraced by Holland, and Celebes still remained free from the influence of Europe. The prince accepted terms of peace with England, but stipulated that no attempt should be made to entice his people from the faith of the prophet, by the preaching of any Christian apostle.[2]

Great engagement at sea.

[1] Marsden, *History of Sumatra*, 360.

[2] Crawfurd, *History of Indian Archipelago.*

In the war between the merchants of Spain and Holland, perpetual variations of success maintained a balance of hope and power. The Spaniards, fitting out an armament to capture all ships and forts bearing the Netherlands flag, failed in the enterprise. The Dutch, equipping another to retort upon Manilla, found the whole population, including the clergy, under arms, and were driven back with considerable loss. Nevertheless the general cause of the war inclined towards the victory of the younger state, whose resources were far more ably wielded than those of the Catholic empire. Variations of success.

The third governor-general, appointed in the name of the United Provinces, was Laurent Real. He is enumerated among the men whose talents gave lustre to the dawn of the seventeenth century. Apropos of his genius, the historian indulges in a grandiloquent apostrophe of the great admirals, generals, navigators, and statesmen, — the illustrious pleiads that rose over the horizon of Dutch East Indian affairs, for an English writer has denied their existence.[1] Laurent Real was the son of a rich citizen of Amsterdam, — a poet, a lawyer, and a master of science, who had run through a long course of academical studies, and polished his mind in the society of Anna Vischer, the "Sappho of the Netherlands." Men more great than he have occupied darker niches in the temple of historical fame, and the attempt to dignify his abilities with epithets too florid for the noblest genius, will not draw his mediocrity into the light. His administration in the Archipelago was vigorous indeed, and the conflict with the Spaniards was maintained with unfaltering determination. On the fourteenth of April, 1617, a drawn battle took place between the hostile fleets. Nearly equal in actual force, Third governor-general. Dutch eulogies. A. D. 1617.

[1] Crawfurd.

Naval architecture.

neither as yet, by their system of naval architecture, possessed a superiority over the other. The Dutch at first built their ships without the lofty forecastle and the bridge, which afterwards were in fashion. From the experience of a few years they learned to prefer that model. Guns, mounted on the high platform in front, swept over the native fleets with destructive effect. When a ship was boarded, the crew fled thither as to a citadel, and played their fire upon the deck, until time was given to rally upon the enemy.

Rise of the Company.

Though without an absolute triumph, the Dutch continued to flourish on the decay of the Spanish power; and if in the person of Laurent Real there was nothing to justify the flowery eulogiums of this biographer, he discovered many qualities of a superior order. Residing during his administration at Ternate, he more especially strengthened the influence of Holland in this and its companion islands. In all parts of the Archipelago the interest of his employers were conscientiously watched; and when, in 1617, Laurent Real retired, it was from a post of honour honourably filled. The power of the Company had greatly increased. Between seventy and eighty vessels, formidably armed, floated through those seas. In Java, in the Moluccas, and elsewhere, were 3000 soldiers, with several hundred pieces of ordnance, while numerous fortified buildings had been erected to store merchandise in the various islands.

Wars in Java.

In Java the wars of the inferior native states contributed to the power of Mataram, which rose as they fell, and founded its greatness on their ruins. The ambition of its princes could only be slaked at the sources of unbounded power. They appear to have devoted little notice to the transactions of Europeans, exhausting their vigilance, and

spending all their vigour in finding or forcing opportunities of war upon the less potent kingdoms. The sovereign of Achin, no less aspiring but more cautious, sought to destroy his Portuguese enemy, while he prosecuted his views of conquest in Sumatra. He attacked and captured Quedah, which offered him facilities for carrying on his implacable war against Malacca. At Delhy, on his own island, the Portuguese were also fortified, and the Achinese displayed no inconsiderable art in laying siege to the place. Deep trenches were opened, and every preparation made for a long campaign. In six weeks the town was captured[1], and the king, elated by triumph, proceeded to improve the reputation of his arms. The Portuguese were at length meditating an invasion of his country; and an armament was reported to be preparing at Goa with that design.[2] It is remarkable that for a hundred years they suffered his attacks without effort at retaliation. They defended themselves, but never followed their routed enemy over the straits into his own capital, as though some lawgiver, like Lycurgus, had inspired them with the Spartan policy, which forbade the pursuit of a defeated foe. The stroke, however, was even now delayed, though it hung over the Achinese, and held them in some terror.

In Sumatra.

Meanwhile the native princes of the Archipelago, instructed by experience, discovered their error in ever welcoming the establishment of European influence on their shores. In all cases, almost, it was the forerunner of war and ultimate subjugation. But the fault had been committed. All that remained was to find a remedy, and to retrieve by arms what had been lost by

Policy of the island princes.

[1] Marsden, *History of Sumatra*, 361. Beaulieu.

[2] Faria y Sousa, *Portuguese Asia*, trans. Capt. John Stevens.

policy. They had learned the great superiority of their enemies in the open field of battle, which the vanity of brave men often leads them to deny, even to the injury of their cause. They now trusted chiefly to conspiracy. With a low idea of the resources commanded by the leading states of Europe, their imagination suggested to them little beyond the forces now in their view; the forts that watched their coasts, the fleets that patrolled their seas; and could these, by some sudden blow, be swept from the whole Archipelago, they believed that European power would be at an end. Probably, indeed, had their design been successful, its triumph would have been a heavy discouragement to the English, Dutch, and Spaniards; but, with the experience of history before us, we can scarcely imagine the utter extirpation of their influence in the Archipelago. Indeed, it is not easy to disbelieve, and it is ridiculous to deride the theory, that it is the destiny of the West to spread its dominion over the East, through the length and breadth of Asia. I put faith in the fortunes of Great Britain, which may lead her to possess, if not the whole, at least most of that region which she has proved herself, of all others, the most capable to rule. The tide of conquest, in remotest ages, rose with the sun, and flowed westward. It may be that, when it submerges America, another change will occur; and in the revolutions of the world it is not impossible, that a new Asiatic empire, like that of Darius or Cambyses, may rise to spread its power over the subjugated states of Europe.

League of the Indian kings.

The audacious daring which conceived this league among the Indian princes was allied well with the deep policy which disciplined its movements. The Dutch were their most hateful, as they were their most formidable, antagonists; and they endeavoured, like some

soldier politicians of antiquity, to employ their weaker against their stronger enemies. Thus a double purpose would be answered. The English, throwing their forces upon Holland, would assist in annihilating its power, while they weakened their own, and became less prepared to stand against an attack of the united Indian armies.

The sultan of Mataram, the regent of Bantam, and the kings of Jakatra and Cheribon, were the heads of the conspiracy which ramified into Sumatra, into Celebes, into the Moluccas, and many other islands. Circumstances, peculiarly fortuitous, favoured their policy, raising up for them a powerful alliance, and for their enemies a dangerous hostility.

English transactions.

From the earliest appearance of the Dutch flag in the Indian waters, its advent had been viewed with jealousy by the merchants of England. Our countrymen, though still unconscious of their fate to be the inheritors of an empire then decaying under the Great Mogul, were consolidating their company, endeavouring to open avenues to the resources of India, and especially directing their attention to the islands. There is an exchange of accusations between the rival companies. The English occupied the small islands of Polaroon and Rosengen, not possessed by the Dutch, but connected with the territories under their influence. They were attacked unsuccessfully, but their ships were seized, and towed into a Netherlands port, where they were declared to be held in security until our countrymen relinquished all pretensions to the Spice Islands. In considering this dispute, it will be just to notice each nation contending for a claim which it asserted to be a right. The Dutch memorialised James I., setting forth that, at their own expense, they had expelled the Portuguese, and guaranteed protection to the natives.

The English traders had not only sought to share the fruits of their adventure, but incited the people against them. In retort, the English accused them of many injuries, especially at Tidor and Amboyna.[1] They were charged, in reply, with the plunder and destruction of a Dutch ship bound from Patani to Bantam.[2] Compensation was demanded. It was refused. Those were not times of delicate diplomacy, nor were statesmen so attached as at present to political compromise. In the Indian Archipelago, a short negotiation in a peremptory tone was all that preceded the actual commencement of war.

Attacked by the Dutch.

All the English buildings near the Dutch fort at Bantam were destroyed. In revenge for this, the coast was blockaded, and an armament sent to threaten the defences of the Dutch factory. These were by no

A. D. 1618.

means formidable. In December, 1618, so little had they advanced, that they had hardly completed the foundations of two stone forts, flanked by small bastions and a cavalier, the whole surrounded by a slight rampart, not yet many feet high. They were vigorously defended. Rich stuffs, and other merchandise, brought from the stores, were piled up to barricade the

A. D. 1619.

avenues of approach.[3] On the 1st of January, 1619[4], a naval action took place. The rival armaments, with respect to force, are variously described. They fought all day, and separated at night without drawing the battle to an issue. At dawn a large squadron of En-

[1] *Memorial of Dutch East India Company, and Reply of English India Company, in* 1616. *East India Papers*, in State Paper Office, q. Bruce, *Annals*, i. 202.

[2] Temminck, *Coup d'Œil sur les Possessions Neerlandaises*, i. 17.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Crawfurd, *Hist. Indian Archipelago*. Temminck dates it 29th December, 1618, i. 17.

glish ships appeared in view, and the Dutch hastily made sail for Amboyna, leaving the fort, with a promise of succour, in charge of Van der Bronk, an African traveller, well experienced in war. Four hundred persons, of whom thirty or forty were women and seventy or eighty children, with many Chinese, and only a small proportion of Hollanders, remained with him in the beleaguered fort. The orders left were to defend the fort while it was possible, and then to surrender it, not to the natives but to the English. Meanwhile a vessel was despatched to the Straits to meet all the traders and warn them of danger.

Conflict.

The rupture between the Dutch and English was simultaneous with the rising of the confederated Indian chiefs against their foreign enemy. An overwhelming force laid siege to Jakatra, which was reduced to the most imminent danger. According to one historian, an able but prejudiced writer, treachery was practised to circumvent the Dutch; whereas treachery, in truth, was the cause of their safety. The governor, he reports, was invited to a feast by the prince of Jakatra. He complied, was seized, trodden under foot, chained, and compelled, with a dagger presented to his breast, to write his countrymen an order to surrender and save his life. After long resistance he obeyed, and was thrust into a dungeon underground. The garrison refused to acknowledge this authority and held out, though the English, whose conduct is represented as cowardly and cruel, were evidently leagued against them. The spirit of treachery, almost universal in the breasts of Asiatic princes, came to their aid.

Progress of the native conspiracy.

The regent of Bantam, forgetting his patriotism in his cupidity, and becoming jealous of the rich plunder which would fall into the hands of his allies, resolved to adopt a course which ultimately defeated the whole

It is exploded.

object of the expedition.[1] A design, conceived in the secret reveries of his selfish ambition, was put in execution. He commanded a large division of the besieging forces. Possessed of this power, and animated by this spirit, the faithless chief prepared a body of 2000 men, placed them under the directions of a brave and wily leader, and sent them to the theatre of conflict. They marched to the camp, and penetrated to the tent of the prince of Jakatra. There the captain of the band held a dagger to the breast of the astonished chief, and dictated terms which he could not but accept. Through this breaking up of the alliance the Dutch were saved, though attacked at once by the natives and the English.

Triumph of the Dutch.

An agreement was drawn up. The confederated armies dispersed. The prince of Jakatra consented that the Dutch forts should remain as they were until the arrival of the new governor-general Koen, and that the English should be compelled to situate their factory, with those of all other nations, at a fixed distance from the forts of the most favoured traders.[2] But these concessions of privilege were of no avail now; and the independence of the kingdom fell before the shock of Dutch revenge.

Exaggeration of Dutch writers.

In their prodigal expense of eulogium, the Dutch writers describe one governor-general after another, adorned with all the ornaments of humanity and genius, each greater than the last, and each excelled only by him who followed. They embalm their memories in the most fragrant wrappings of panegyric; but the odour is too powerful to please, and excites a sentiment very different from admiration. Jan Pieterz Koen is thus eulogised by his biographer; and though we smile upon the extravagance of his portrait, we concede him the

[1] Crawfurd, ii. 416. [2] Raffles, *History of Java*, ii. 166.

title of genius. He held several appointments in the commercial departments of the Netherlands' administration in the East. He was first governor, and then director-general, which brought all the Company's trade under his care. It prospered in his hands; for his diligence was equalled by his integrity and conscientious exactitude. He was charged with the care of the great books, which were examined in Europe with the most unremitting and sedulous scrutiny. Peter Both had been directed to compile an estimate, or general view, of the Company's affairs; but Jan Pieterz von Koen was the first to complete a survey, or inventory, of all the property, all the claims and the credits of the association. The whole of its possessions were calculated at their value in money. The class of account books then employed continued in use throughout all the transactions, and throughout the existence, of the Company.

A. D. 1619. Capture of Jakatra.

On the 28th of May, 1619, the Dutch flag appeared in view at Jakatra, and, after a rapid voyage from Amboyna, Koen's fleet rode off the Javan coast. At sunrise the next day, a force was landed from the eighteen ships; several battalions were ranked in order of battle, and marched upon the town. The assault was sudden and furious. The defences were carried after a short and bloody struggle. The inhabitants — no strangers to the practices of Dutch revenge — endeavoured to find refuge in flight; but few succeeded.[1] The majority of the men were mercilessly cut to pieces. Whether from humanity, whether from policy; whether from a desire to retain them as slaves for their service or their pleasure, the conquerors spared all the women and children. The fallen prince, leaving his capital to be

[1] Crawfurd, ii. 417.

levelled with the ground, fled, and Jakatra was destroyed by flames, or the engines of war.[1] Its name only remained, and even that the Dutch afterwards obliterated. Still the site of the town was thought too advantageous to be abandoned, and another city rose over the ruins of the last. It was Batavia. The sovereignty of the native ruler was at an end.[2] Driven from his patrimony of despotism by the arms of foreign merchants, he wandered away, and is supposed to have terminated his days as a fisherman, industrious and poor. The conceit of a moralist might lead him to speculate on the happiness of this change; but, in spite of all that is said of kingly cares, it appears that the weight of a crown is not so great or galling as philosophers would induce us to believe. Wearisome, anxious, full of bitterness, and dangerous as the possession of a throne may be, it is remarkable that men will forsake reputation, despise justice, tread upon humanity, and waste the blood of myriads, to retain a sceptre. The prince of Jakatra was doubtless as sorrowful over the loss of his power as the Dutch were delighted. However this may be, the foundation of the Netherlands' authority had been laid in the extensive and productive island of Java.

Batavia founded.

Close of the king's career.

Laurent Real had neglected, in his zeal for the promotion of his patrons' interest, to fulfil their positive orders with reference to the selection of a permanent seat of authority, a convenient rendezvous for the trade of the East India Company. He had been instructed to choose it with the following conditions: —

Choice of a capital.

That the place chosen should be of convenient approach to European vessels.

[1] Temminck, *Coup d'Œil sur les Possessions Neerlandaises*, i. 19.
[2] Raffles, *History*, ii. 167.

That during one of the monsoons, Chinese junks might steer safely towards it.

That the town itself and the surrounding lands should abound with sweet water, wood, and all conveniences for the refreshment and repair of Dutch shipping.

That the governor-general should engage the people to enter into no rivalry which should encourage the English, or any other nation, to interfere with Dutch commerce at the port.

That the situation should be easy of defence by land and sea, and not exposed to the irruptions of great hordes from the interior.

That it should possess a good harbour or road, where shipping might be conveniently repaired, refitted, and careened.

That it should be commodiously situated for the annual departure, if necessary, of warlike armaments against enemies, or succour to friends; and that the possessions, whether stores, provisions, papers, or books, of the Company should be safe from the chance of violence and incendiary, which had destroyed them before at Bantam and Pulicat.

These were the directions of the States-General. Yet Laurent Real, on the 22nd August, 1617, issued a proclamation, stating that the place of residence should be decided with a view to the welfare of commerce; but that it was impossible to fix a permanent seat of authority, or an universal rendezvous. Koen, however, saw the urgency of obedience to the supreme government. The States-General called his attention to the isle of Banka, famous for its tin mines; the little isle of Sabek in the Straits of Sunda; Johore, near Singapore; Malacca, and Ontong Java. On this place his eye fell. It lay some miles to the west of

Batavia, on the river Tanjerong.[1] It belonged to the dethroned prince of Jakatra, who had already sold to Peter Both a piece of ground near his capital, and who, when a new cession was proposed, became alarmed at the ambition of his visitors, and refused. A prophecy found among the traditions of America, as well as of the East, urged him to deny the proposal with all the firmness he could assume, — "that one day a white nation, with cat eyes and fair hair, should invade and subdue the Indies."

Various suggestions.

The proposition of Koen to choose Ontong Java was not favoured by the directors, who recommended Banar; but he disregarded their advice. Amboyna disputed his choice with Java. This, the key of the Spice group, appeared a favourable *point d'appui* for the armed flotillas blockading the channels of that sea. But the great island, rearing either end over the passages from the Indian into the China Ocean, tempted, by its extent, its position, its natural wealth, and the harbours abounding along its coast. The decision of the governor-general at length fell on Java, and it only remained to choose a city which should become the metropolis of the Dutch possessions in the East Indies. Already masters of the Cape, of Ceylon, of some extensive provinces on the Coromandel coast, and several forts in the Moluccas, the ships of Holland were afforded a leisurely route from Texel to the southern point of Africa, thence to the mouths of the Ganges — the Nile of the Indian continent,—thence to the Straits of Sunda, and through the channels of the Oriental Archipelago to China and Japan.[2] Already the enterprise of the young republic had spread the seeds of a rich commerce

Extension of Dutch influence.

[1] Temminck, *Coup d'Œil sur les Possessions Neerlandaises*, i. 16.
[2] Ibid.

through those remote waters. Had the wisdom or humanity of the conquering merchants been equal to their vigour, and paramount over their ambition, it would have been a pleasant task for any writer to contemplate their progress, brilliant and rapid as it was.

The governor-general was now not long in fixing the position of the new city — the seat, the centre, and the capital of the Netherlands' Indian empire. Batavia was chosen, and, as no obstacle existed to prevent a settlement and the erection of fortifications there, works were at once commenced. By the fortune of war, the territories of Jakatra lay at the mercy of her European enemies.

Batavia fixed upon.

The unhealthiness of the site was probably not then known, but it is such as would have driven any but the Dutch from the most favourable situation in the world. It lay encircled by a sweep of marshy lands and stagnant lakes. In the morning pestiferous odours were brought to the city by the early sea breezes; the meridian sun called up from the earth every kind of noxious exhalation; and, in the evening, dull, unwholesome vapours brooded over the plain, generating numerous destructive fevers.[1] Yet, as Batavia stood near the sea, was excellently situated as a commercial emporium, was encircled by lands rich in their crops of rice, and protected by lines of hills, Koen was induced to select it. He is thence styled by some of his national historians the founder of the Dutch East Indian empire, though others have claimed that title for Peter Both. It is difficult to conceive the infatuation that clung to this place, whose whole neighbourhood was an overflowing graveyard.

Situation of Batavia.

[1] Roberts, *Embassy to the Eastern Courts.*

CHAPTER XI.

Dutch established in Java.

THE Dutch had now established their authority in Java. The merchants of Amsterdam were become the founders of an empire. From that day the history of the Archipelago is the history of their progress. It will be proper, therefore, to describe the situation, resources, and aspect, the people, the religion, and the political state of the extensive island which was their chosen seat of power.

Geographical rank of Java.

Java ranks in size next to Sumatra, and is far superior to it in fertility. Its coasts are washed on the south and west by the Indian Ocean; on the north-west the Straits of Sunda divide it from the greater island; and, on the south-east, a channel two miles wide separates it from Bali. It forms a link in the vast chain which, commencing with Achin, sweeps in a gentle curve from the Bay of Bengal to New Guinea.[1] We cannot discover whence was derived the island's name: Java with Europeans, Jawa with the natives. The ancient geographer[2] calls it Jabadia, the most fertile region in those seas; and he was evidently well informed respecting it.[3] Some fantastically trace a connection between it and the Javan of the Scriptures.[4] The Arabs, as

Its position.

Historical notes.

[1] Raffles, *History of Java*, i. 2.

[2] Ptolemy, vii. 4, 5.

[3] Heeren, *Historical Researches, Asiatic Nations*, ii. 429.

[4] Ezekiel, chap. xxvii. Of course this is absurd, Javan, or Yavanas, being used by the Hindus to mean Iones, as it is used in Genesis, chap. x., and in the Arabic, Persian, Coptic, and Armenian languages, to signify Greeks, Iones being once the appellation of all the Greeks. — *Plato de Leg.* iii. 684.

well as the people of Celebes know, as "the dwellers in Java," the inhabitants of this and all the neighbouring islands[1]; while others believe the country was so named in the Sanskrit literature as Yava, or the Land of Barley.[2] It produces, however, little of that grain[3], though celebrated as the rice-granary of the Archipelago. The inquiry, indeed, is not important, except to the antiquarian, who endeavours to quilt together ancient traditions of incongruous shape and pattern, which frequently mislead and bewilder more than they instruct. Nevertheless, an investigation of this nature, when conducted over solid ground, is interesting; but usually there is more to admire in the ingenuity or courage than in the success or judgment of such inquirers.

The name.

Java, noticed by an old chronologist as *Epitome Mundi*[4], was described to the great Venetian traveller as the largest and richest island on the globe.[5] Probably accounts of Borneo were confused in the reports carried to him; for, in addition to its enormous magnitude, it was said to be peopled by idolaters, and incredibly abundant in gold, pepper, spices, perfumes, and drugs. From his work the cosmographer no doubt derived his ideas, who spoke of two Javas, the one 2000, the other 3000, miles in circumference, in the neighbourhood of Sumatra.[6] At that early period, however, the tales of travellers were accepted without fear, and no picture of the Indies could be rendered too wild or dazzling for belief. Even to this day strange reports from countries little known are circulated, which the inquiries of another age will probably prove fabulous.

Ancient account.

[1] Raffles, *History of Java*, i. 3.
[2] Ibid. i. 4. [3] Crawfurd, *History of Indian Archipelago*.
[4] Scaliger, *Exercitationes*, 147.
[5] Marco Polo, notes by Marsden.
[6] Heylyn, *Cosmography*, 921.

Extent.

The extreme length of Java, described by De Conto as resembling in shape a hog crouched on its forelegs [1], is 666 statute miles.[2] Its breadth varies from 135 to 45, and its area may be computed at 50,000 square miles

Neighbouring isles.

Numerous islands are scattered along the coast, especially on the north, where, with headlands, small promontories, and the bays lying between, they form harbours of various capacities. The sea near Batavia is

Pirate haunt.

covered with innumerable islets. The group, called the Thousand Islands, long formed a nest of pirates, and had not been explored twenty years ago.[3] The neighbourhood of these little clusters is thickly interspersed with reefs of coral and other formations, which fringe the shores in this and other parts of the Archipelago.[4]

Shape of Java.

Java is remarkable for the rectangularity of its outline. It might be divided into five or six parts, each a rectangular parallelogram drawn by an unsteady hand.[5]

Its aspect.

The aspect of Java is richly diversified, marked by bold, but elegant, outlines, and affording a long succession of landscapes enriched by innumerable beauties. Approaching its shores, lines of palm-trees display themselves along the brim of the sea, and behind this natural colonnade the plain mounts gently, in graceful

Surface.

swells, to the base of the hills in the interior. The champagne is now liberally cultivated, and embellished by the native hamlets, whose groups of cottages, built of light bamboo, are spread over the levels, and shaded by clumps of fruit trees. Where the ranges approach the coast, immense sweeps of land may be viewed, covered with crops of rice, which wave down the bosoms of the hills, stretching in an amphitheatre from

[1] De Conto, *Decada*, iv. 1.
[2] Raffles, *History of Java*, i. 8.
[3] Earl, *Eastern Seas*, 67.
[4] Darwin, *On Coral Reefs*, 183. Horsburgh, ii. 436.
[5] Raffles, *History of Java*, i. 8.

the sea to the central chain.[1] The landscape is enlivened by the variegated tints of the vegetation. In one field, the plough or the harrow is passing over the soil; in another, the husbandmen are sowing; in the next, transplanting; in a fourth, the grain begins to flower; in the fifth, the bright golden crops are assuming the last rich tinge of maturity; and, in the next, old men, women, and children are busy gathering in the harvest.[2] At intervals the ancient woods still stand, and the natural beauty of the island is contrasted with the pleasant aspect of a country subdued by industry and art.

Tints of the landscape. Succession of crops.

An uninterrupted line of hills, varying in altitude from five to fourteen thousand feet[3], passes from end to end of Java. Their round bases and conical tops are evidence of a volcanic origin. Some appear blue, and are so named; others are rich and green from base to summit; others are covered with woods, or scorched black by fire.[4] Many of the peaks are lightened in the evening by that rosy blush which glows on the mountain tops of Switzerland[5] and the porphyry hills of Egypt.[6] Each is distinct, standing detached from the rest. A few groups are situated close to the shore. There are about thirty-eight large mountains. They vary in form, but agree in their general character, being scattered in a confused rank from north to south, on a fertile plateau, little raised above the level of the

Hills.

[1] Temminck, *Coup d'Œil sur les Possessions Neerlandaises*, i. 305.

[2] Crawfurd, *History of Indian Archipelago*, i. 363.

[3] Temminck, *Coup d'Œil sur les Possessions Neerlandaises*, i. 317.

[4] Raffles, *History of Java*, i. 19.

[5] Zollinger, *Tidschrift von Neerlands Indie. Journ. Ind. Arch.* iv. 204.

[6] See notices of this beautiful phenomenon in "*Isis: an Egyptian Pilgrimage*," J. A. St. John, ii. 89.

Formation of Java.

sea. All are apparently of late formation.[1] Indeed, the whole island is apparently of recent growth.[2] Some of the craters are extinct, though the traces of their

Smoke of the volcanoes.

action are unequivocal: others continually discharge, through small apertures, volumes of sulphury smoke or vapour, which roll upwards, shine like golden fleece in the light of the sun, and float away, adding to the landscapes of Java an enchanting touch of beauty.

Volcanic mountains.

The living volcanoes of Java contribute important features to its aspect. Among the most remarkable is Tankoeban Prahoe, which, after an eruption, presented

Their vegetation.

a wonderful spectacle to the traveller.[3] The base was encircled by a belt of coffee shrubberies, surrounded by plantations of tea and rice. Above these the forest clothed the slopes. Trees, more than a hundred feet high, rising forty or sixty feet before throwing out a branch, and standing sufficiently far apart, resembled columns supporting the roof of a vast temple. Not a breath of wind visits them. The scene is enriched by infinite varieties of inferior vegetation. A thick carpeting of moss, with immense ferns springing above it,

Beautiful scenes,

overlays the ground. Myriads of blossoms are unfolded amidst the masses of green; fantastic creepers mount the trees, and hang across their lofty arches in festoons of gaudy flowers — scarlet, yellow, purple, and crimson. Beyond this blooming solitude a spectacle far different is presented. Nothing there is fresh or lovely. The wreck of a wood — thousands of trees, black and blistered, or covered with grey powder—is displayed: the ground is thickly strewn with cinders. There is not a

[1] Raffles, *History of Java*, i. 13. [2] Darwin, *Coral Reefs*, 134.

[3] Logan, *Present Condition of the Indian Archipelago*, *J. I. A.*, i. 6.

[4] Dr. Bleeker, *Tidschrift Voor Neerlands Indie. Trans. in Journal of the Indian Archipelago.*

leaf left green. Further still, the fires of the volcano have consumed all, and the slopes are encumbered only by piles of fine black ashes.[1] The crater is nearly a mile and a half round [2], and 800 feet deep. At the bottom, whence the sides rise perpendicularly, a lake of dark mud, hot and bubbling, sends up huge volumes of steam and smoke, with an occasional flood of fire.[3]

Singular spectacle on the summit.

Water in Java, as in most hilly countries, is abundant. Its streams are very numerous. Few of them, indeed, are large, since the formation of the island does not admit of long, deep, broad rivers. Five or six of them, however, are at all times navigable for several miles from the sea. There are about fifty which float down rafts of timber from the interior, and hundreds, perhaps thousands, which aid the operations of husbandry by irrigating the soil. The most important stream is the Great Solo, which winds through a course of 356 miles, though traversing only 140 miles from its rise to the sea. Along the waters are floated flat-bottomed boats, bearing from 5 to 200 tons; some of them well built, and furnished with cabins. They carry down pepper, coffee, and other products of the interior, which are bartered for salt and foreign merchandise. About eight days are occupied in the downward voyage from Surakarta, though almost four months are consumed on the return, working against the stream, with delays, to wait until the waters swell.[4]

Streams.

Boats.

On the low belt of land encircling the island, and broken by several lofty tracts, the climate is in many parts unhealthy. The moisture of the air and the soil, admirably fitted for rice cultivation, is especially in-

Climate.

[1] Bleeker, *Tidschrift von Neerlands Indie. J. I. A.* Horsfield, *Batavian Transactions.*

[3] Bleeker, *Tidschrift von Neerlands Indie. J. I. A.*

[4] Raffles, *History of Java*, i. 21.

jurious to the European constitution. As you journey towards the interior, a change is sensible, after five miles' progress. A purer air is breathed; brighter scenes display themselves. The dull marshy ground is left behind, and huge mountains, rising in groups, present their shaggy sides, or long, gentle slopes, clothed with harvests.[1] Cataracts, thundering over the ledges of hills, have been subjected to the use of man, and forced to spread their waters in a thousand channels among the fields and plantations.[2] The verdure of the earth is perpetual. Springs, which never fail, refresh it; and, as one leaf or blossom withers, another is blooming to supply its place. The fresh cool green of the plains is shot and streaked with innumerable hues, never parched by excessive heat, or nipped by severe weather. In the hottest season the air is pleasant; in the driest, the rills and rivulets, as well as deeper streams, contain plenty of water; while, generally, they flow rapidly along, full to the brim, sparkling and glittering among the fields, or over the long slopes, which they cover with everlasting fertility. Down the sides of the mountains are traced ribs, sharp and high, taking a winding course as they approach the base, and forming narrow, sloping, tortuous valleys, each watered by a stream. Near the mouths of the rivers alluvial plains are formed by deposits from the hills, excessively rich in soil, but unhealthy.[3]

Verdure.

Soil.

Wells, of various temperature and impregnation, are numerous, chiefly, however, of petroleum. A few, which break from the craters of volcanoes, are strongly infused with sulphuric acid.[4] They are distributed all over the island. In Cheribon they especially abound. A

Wells.

[1] Raffles, *History of Java*, i. 23.
[2] Temminck, *Coup d'Œil*, i. 306. 315.
[3] Raffles, *History of Java*, i. 25.
[4] Ibid. 24.

white plain, near Karsang, is sprinkled with them, and overspread by a cloud of vapour. In the vicinity are strewn rocks, with elegant crystals and spars of eccentric formation.[1] In some places, deep perforations extend into the heart of the hills; in others, broad muddy plains are broken up by frequent explosions, and there are wells which yield hundreds of tons of good salt.[2] Occasionally terrific eruptions of the volcanoes occur. From these and from all other circumstances it is evident that Java is exclusively of volcanic origin. The great Asiatic chain, noticed already as coming down the Peninsula and terminating in Biliton, does not rise here.[3] No granite exists in the island.[4]

Crystal rocks.

Geology.

When Java assumed its present shape, whether it ever joined Sumatra or Bali, or whether it forms the highland of some half-emerged continent, it is impossible to determine. It is related in traditionary tales, that many of these islands were once connected, but were rent by the pangs of nature.[5] Time, however, can alone answer the inquiries of science.

Geological history.

The constitution of the island is unfavourable to minerals. Like other naturally flat countries — for the mountains are only elevations of the surface, reared by plutonic agency — it produces no gold. Those who accept the theory, that climate influences the distribution of metals[6], may find an open field for speculation in this and the neighbouring region. There is no iron in Java, and none of the costly metal, which is agreeable to this view. Attempts have been made to extract them as well as silver, but without result enough to reward the

Absence of minerals.

[1] Raffles, *History of Java*, i. 25.
[2] Horsfield, *Mineralogy of Java. Batavian Transactions.*
[3] Horsfield, *On Mineralogical Constitution of Banca.*
[4] Raffles, *History of Java.*
[5] Ibid. i. 32.
[6] St. Pierre, *Etudes sur la Nature*, i. 117

miner.[1] A little iron has been discovered, but so
Stones. diffused in the soil that it is useless. No diamonds, or other precious stones, are found, though there is abundance of schist, quartz, jasper, agate, obsidian, porphyry, &c. Java is exclusively an agricultural country.[2] Its soil is excessively rich, perhaps the richest in the world[3], and remarkably deep, in many
Depth of soil. places ten and often fifty feet.[4] The plains are constantly enriched by deposits washed down from the mountains, which perpetually grow through the action of the subterranean fires.

Fertility. The soil of the island is superior to any other in the Archipelago. It resembles, in parts, the richest garden mould of Europe, and where irrigation is abundant, requires no manure, and bears, without injury, one heavy and one light crop annually. There is some
Qualities of the soil. variety in its character, but all is fertile. The red light soil of the western is inferior to the stiff dark brown of the eastern provinces. The best is near the beds of rivers, or on the slopes of great mountains; the worst on the low calcareous hills.[5]

Season. The seasons in this, as in all countries within ten degrees of the equator, are not divided into winter and
Monsoons. summer, but into wet and dry. They depend on the periodical winds, which are very regular, if not exact, in their changes. The westerly gales, bringing rain-clouds, set in annually about October, settle steadily in November, subside towards March, and in April give way to the easterly breezes, and fine bright weather, which continues during the next half year. The wettest

[1] Transactions of the Batavian Society.
[2] Raffles, *History of Java*, i. 34. [3] Earl, *Eastern Seas.*
[4] Crawfurd, *History of Indian Archipelago*, i. 345.
[5] Raffles, *History of Java*, i. 34. Crawfurd, *History of Indian Archipelago.*

months are December and January; the driest July and August, when the nights are coldest, and the days most sultry. The change of season is often accompanied by storms like those of the West Indies, bringing dangerous winds along the coast though never on shore. The currents appear to vary with the monsoons, which tortured the speculative imagination of old devotees to science.[1] At all other times vessels may ride safely in the bays on the northern coast. Thunder storms are frequent—indeed almost daily in the dry season, on the hills—and occasionally destructive to life. Earthquakes are common in the neighbourhood of volcanic mountains, but seldom injure the substantial habitations in an European town. The rainy season in Java is varied by many clear, bright days, and the hot months are refreshed by occasional showers.

Harbours and bays.

The heat on the coast has reached ninety degrees, but usually ranges between seventy and seventy-four, morning and evening, with eighty-three in the afternoon. Thirty or forty miles inland, with a gradual elevation of the surface, it is five or ten degrees lower, and in the high valleys of the interior has been experienced at twenty-seven.[2] Ice, as thick as two Spanish dollars, has been found[3], and hoar frost, named by the natives "poisonous dew." The land and sea breezes continually cool the air, and on the range of surface sloping from the coast to the height of the interior, you may enjoy a change varying two or three degrees every ten miles.[4]

Atmosphere.

Java therefore, for salubrity, is greatly favoured among the islands of the further East. With the ex-

Salubrity of Java.

[1] Vossius, *Motion of the Seas and Winds.*
[2] Raffles, *History of Java*, i. 35.
[3] Raffles, *Address to Batavian Society.*
[4] Raffles, *Batavian Transactions.*

ception of a few localities on its northern coast, it may be considered as healthy as the healthiest parts of British India, or indeed of any tropical country in the world. It is favourable to the human frame, especially the Asiatic. The Dutch, however, selected as the metropolis of their Indian empire a pestilential marsh. Some fatuity bound them to it. The deaths during one period of twenty-two years—1730 to 1752[1]—were more than a million of souls.[2] In 1805, one in eleven of the Europeans died; one in thirteen of the slaves; one in twenty-nine of the Chinese; one in forty of the Javans.[3] Indeed, throughout Asia, Africa, and the West Indies, the same providence is evident, and the climate is tempered to the constitution of the native race.[4]

Vegetable wealth.

The vegetable wealth of Java is immense. Its variety is equal to its abundance. One naturalist[5], distinguished for science, collected in his herbarium more than a thousand plants, most of them unknown in the Old World. From the tops of the mountains to the seashore, six distinct zones may be said to exist, each furnishing its peculiar botany, — six families of plants indigenous to as many climates; while every region of the earth may find its particular products represented in some part of the island.[6]

Varieties in natural history.

Rice.

Rice, in upwards of a hundred varieties, is produced so plentifully that Java is the granary of the Archipelago.[7] Maize, or Indian corn, is grown on the higher

[1] Raynal, *Etablissemen*, i. 293.

[2] Raffles, *History of Java*, i. 38.

[3] Prichard, *Researches into the Physical History of Mankind.*

[4] See Lind, *Essay on Diseases*, 144.

[5] Dr. Horsfield.

[6] Raffles, *History of Java; Address to Batavian Society.*

[7] Temminck, *Coup d'Œil sur les Possessions Neerlandaises*, i. 244.

lands, particularly suited to its cultivation.[1] Cotton, which is already exported in considerable quantities, might be made of infinite value to the island itself, as well as to Holland. It could be planted after one rice harvest, which is the best season, and gathered before the next.[2] The culture of coffee has been improved, but not nearly developed. 125,000,000 pounds, it is said, might be produced annually.[3] Eight varieties of sugar-cane, tobacco, pepper, indigo, aniseed, cumminseed, cubebs, and a variety of other articles, enter into the catalogue of its vegetable riches.[4] The cinnamon-tree has been introduced, and yields abundantly. Cloves have been attempted in spots, carefully chosen, with the most expert cultivators from Amboyna, but without any success.[5] Beans form an important material of food. Cocoa-nuts abound, with several trees whose seeds and kernels are edible. The bread fruit, similar in species, though inferior in quality, to that of the South Sea Islands, flourishes in all the provinces, but is little esteemed and seldom found in the Javan provision store. There are many tuberous roots, edible and nutritious, besides the Java potato, and a kind of manitot. On a few low marshy plains the true sago is found, but its delicate medullum is left to ripen and rot, as though a people partly civilised is too proud to accept the spontaneous gifts of the soil. From another tree, however, a similar substance is procured in large quantities. There are numerous palms, whose tops are edible; but rice and other esculents are so abundant

Other grains.

Other productions.

[1] The rich districts still waste are noticed by J. Rigg, Esq., *Journ. Ind. Arch.* iii. 85.

[2] Hogendorp, *Coup d'Œil sur Java.*

[3] Temminck, *Coup d'Œil sur les Possessions Neerlandaises*, i. 249.

[4] Raffles, *History of Java*, i. 40.

[5] Temminck, *Coup d'Œil sur les Possessions Neerlandaises*, i. 254.

that all humbler species of food are disdained. Wheat and potatoes, with almost every European vegetable, thrive well. Java is also celebrated for its fruits. The mangusteen, styled Pride of the East, the durien, the jack, forty varieties of mango, the plaintain, guava, pine-apple, custard-apple, pomegranate, tamarind, orange, citron, lime, wild rasberries of a rich violet colour, peaches, Chinese pears, with others unknown to Europeans, as well as fruits from the Cape and from Japan, flourish in immense orchards, shading every village, and adorning the approaches to every town. The island is profusely sown over with flowers, much used in the ornament of the person. Myrtles, spikenard, which the Javanese, it is said, used to flavour their food with [1], and roses, with innumerable others, known only by native names, grow in thickets, or flush the slopes and plains with their variegated colours — springing up in thick patches of red, or gold, or blue, amid the ferns and grass.[2] Rows of trees in full blossom at certain seasons line the roadsides.[3] They contribute to the riches no less than to the beauty of the island. From one a deep brilliant, permanent scarlet dye is obtained. The rind of the mangosteen, mixed with a particular bark, yields a glossy black; other compounds afford a rich yellow.[4]

Fruits.

Flowers.

Java is the only island in the Archipelago where the teak timber is very easily available [5], growing near the sea, or on the borders of navigable rivers. In Sumbawa and Celebes it grows far inland, and has hitherto been of

Teak timber.

[1] Valmont de Bomare, iv. 201.

[2] Raffles, *History of Java*, i. 41.

[3] Jonathan Rigg, *Tour in Java. Journal of Indian Archipelago*, iii. 75.

[4] Raffles, *History of Java*, i. 44.

[5] See Raffles, *Memoirs*, i. 107.

little service to the people.[1] The Dutch value it highly, and are so fearful of its exhaustion, that they have formed nurseries of teak trees; but this cultivated timber never equals the wild growth of the forests. Many other woods are found, — some heavy, fine-grained, and hard; others variegated, marbled, and richly coloured, for house and boat building, and cabinet work. The Upas palm, celebrated by extravagant fables, yields a deadly poison. Rattans, with trees yielding soap, tallow, oil, resin for varnish, scented wax — excellent for tapers — and another producing a fine silky wool, add to the list of vegetable products.[2] The vine was introduced, but afterwards prohibited, though probably it would thrive well on the slopes of hills covered with ashes from volcanoes.[3]

Ornamental woods.

Java, like the other islands of the Archipelago, is not a pastoral country. The region is not adapted to communities, like those of Scythia and Arabia, reckoning their wealth alone in flocks and herds. Narrow seas, rivers, mountains, abundance of spontaneous products, — of roots, of honey, of fish, — with few extensive plains, afford little temptation or opportunity for the shepherd life.[4] There is, indeed, no evidence of a hunting or pastoral tribe dwelling under the torrid zone.[5] Nevertheless, in this island, a superior breed of cattle is fed on the undulating pastures, — buffaloes, bulls, and cows, which supply the European and native shipping to a great extent.[6] They have been improved by the introduction of another species from Sumbawa.[7] Horses, strong, fleet, and well made, though small, are reared in

Character of the country.

Absence of pasture.

Animals.

[1] Earl, *Eastern Seas*, 45. [2] Raffles, *History of Java*, i. 43.
[3] Mackenzie, quoted by Raffles, i. 49.
[4] Crawfurd, *History of Indian Archipelago.*
[5] Home, *Sketches of Man.* [6] Earl, *Eastern Seas.*
[7] Raffles, *History of Java*, i. 54.

considerable numbers. A few sheep, called by the natives European goats, feed on the hills; while the hog is fattened principally among the settlers from China, who delight in the flesh, if not in the companionship, of that animal.[1]

Wild beasts.

Tigers, leopards, jackals, wild dogs, wild oxen, wild hogs, wild deer of various species, with the rhinoceros, a few monkeys[2], besides weasels, squirrels, and the bezoar, constitute the principal animal kingdom of Java.[3]

Birds.

Two hundred varieties of birds have been enumerated, Turkeys, geese, ducks, fowls, pigeons, carrion crows, and owls, among the chief. The natives adorn their heads with the dorsal feathers of the white heron, and

Reptiles.

plume their arrows from the wings of the falcon.[4] The cayman, or Egyptian crocodile, a large, fierce, rapacious creature; huge alligators, lizards, turtles, land tortoises, green frogs,—which are used as food,—toads, and frog-fish inhabit the rivers and marshes. The seas near the coast abound with fish, and vast quantities of shells are cast upon the beach, reported by old travellers to be empty at the new and full moon.[5] Honey and wax abound. A little fine silk is produced, but the cultivation of the mulberry has never been carried to any perfection, and the spirit of speculation in this valuable article promises to be altogether extinguished.

Edible birds' nests.

Another commodity entering into the commercial resources of Java is peculiar to the Archipelago, — the

Bird caverns.

nest of the sea swallow. At Karrang Bollang, on the southern coast, are the great caves, famous as the depositaries of these singular articles of luxury. To enter them the natives are swung down by ropes, over the

[1] Raffles, *History of Java*, i. 56.

[2] Temminck, *Coup d'Œil sur les Possessions Neerlandaises*, i. 322.

[3] See Lesson, *Hist. Nat. des Cétacés*, ii. 45.

[4] Raffles, *History of Java*, i. 58.

[5] Vossius, *Motion of the Seas and Winds*.

face of tremendous cliffs, and, entering the natural portals in the rock, find the nests clinging to the walls of caverns nearly 500 feet high, partly flooded by the sea, and pervaded by a gloom seldom broken in its further recesses by a ray from the sun.[1]

The people.

Java is believed by some to have been peopled from the original Tartar stock that has spread itself over Eastern Asia, distinguished by invariable characteristics, and inhabiting all the region to the south of the Indian peninsula.[2] The accidents of climate, position, soil, manners, and habits, induced by these, and intercourse with various races, have impressed different features on different families of them, but they wear the evidence of a common origin.[3] To examine or develop any theory of ethnology is beyond my purpose. All the Javans are Malay, according to one authority entitled to no little attention.[4] No negroes, and no traces or record of them, exist in the island. That the Malays are a Hindu-Chinese race, which was originally cradled on the plains of Scythia, is an opinion which embraces and reconciles these ideas.

Their origin.

Husbandmen.

Being a people especially addicted to husbandry, which is an occupation esteemed honourable among them[5], we do not look among the Javanese for that restless spirit of adventure which impels man to search in strange countries and dangerous enterprises for gain or occupation. Their own soil is the most fertile in the Archipelago; therefore, no change could profit them in

[1] *Tidschrift von Neerlands Indie*, trans. in *Journal of Indian Archipelago.*

[2] Buchanan, *Asiatic Researches*, v. 212.

[3] Raffles, *History of Java*, i. 62.

[4] Crawfurd, *On Malay and Polynesian Languages and Races*, in *Journal of Indian Archipelago.*

[5] Temminck, *Coup d'Œil sur les Possessions Neerlandaises*, i. 292.

Character of the Javanese.

that respect. They seldom embark in mercantile speculations, yet four-fifths of the sailors in the seas have been said to be Javans.[1] They form, indeed, the crews of the Chinese, Arab, and European vessels. Restrictions oppress their industry, and confine their trade[2], so that their energies expand chiefly on the culture of the soil, to which by nature they are peculiarly adapted. They are consequently a more polished, but a less liberal or independent people than those of Celebes and the Malay peninsula. The others have colonised, and speculated; the Javans have remained at home, or served for hire, in the trade of strangers. In ancient times they are said, indeed, to have cast off swarms of settlers to Borneo, the Peninsula, Sumatra, and even Celebes; but when the Europeans arrived they were possessors of their own island alone.[3] The ascendancy of a new race may have broken their national spirit, or perhaps engaged all their vigour in a struggle for independence. Certain it is that before the Dutch arrived the Javans are mentioned as carrying on a lucrative commerce, seeking the spices of the Moluccas, and collecting them with other products, in great quantities for sale in the markets of the Archipelago.[4] The trade of Java with the various ports of the East is still considerable, and might be developed with immense advantage. An infinite variety of valuable materials are produced, and the island is admirably situated as the natural emporium of insular Asia. This had been discovered long before the Europeans arrived, and vessels from every maritime state in Asia, from the Red Sea to Japan, visited the port of Bantam.

Their industry.

Trade of Java.

[1] Earl, *Eastern Seas.*

[2] Ibid. Raffles, *History of Java*, i. 65.

[3] Raffles, *History of Java*, i. 65.

[4] Carletti, *Viaggi dell' Indie Orientali, &c.* 119.

Had the province of Jakatra possessed a more salubrious climate, no situation could have been better chosen, as the capital of the Dutch empire, than Batavia. It was to the East what the Cape of Good Hope then was to Europe and India. It lay on the great commercial highway between Hindostan, China, and Japan. It was the halting station between Europe and the remotest shores of the further East. It was the centre of the native trade, and attracted merchants from every commercial community in insular or continental Asia.[1] Situation of Batavia.

It is humiliating to the civilisation of Europe to confess that the establishment of its influence in Java broke up this free and thriving commerce. The features of Dutch policy will display themselves in the progress of the narrative: one of its results may be indicated here. The restrictions they long enforced destroyed the native trade. On the south coast, the most minute writer on the subject[2] describes an extent of upwards of 600 miles without any places of trade. The greater part of it, indeed, is difficult of access through the heavy surf continually rolling in from the Indian Ocean; but the western shores of Sumatra are equally exposed to this inconvenience[3], and the harbour of Madras is far less easy of approach.[4] The Indian islanders will enter a port however the surf may foam and boil, if there be no cordon of restrictions drawn across its mouth to prevent them. Influence of Europe. Monopoly.

If, however, the policy of Holland has depressed, it has not destroyed, the industry of Java. In the useful and in the decorative arts, as in agriculture, it ranks before all the other islands of the Archipelago. In a Importance of Java.

[1] Adam Smith, *Wealth of Nations.*
[2] Milburn, *Oriental Commerce.*
[3] Marsden, *History of Sumatra*, 11.
[4] Walter Hamilton, *Description of Hindostan*, ii. 407.

great degree, indeed, the natives have wasted their skill in the erection of temples[1], instead of applying it to works of public and permanent utility. There was not, thirty years ago, a stone bridge, or a durable sluice in Java[2], though in construction of roads the people have displayed immense good will and zeal. The manufacture of hides, thatch for houses, furniture, mats, cotton, and woollen fabrics, dyes, leather, rope, and cord, are considerably advanced, and no barbarian villages are more graceful or more neat than those which are scattered amid the rice-fields and sugar plantations of Java.[3] The profession of the smith, like that of the husbandman, is held in estimation. In the working of metals, from the manufacture of a kriss to that of a copper pan, the Javans excel. Gold and silver are ingeniously wrought, diamonds cut, wood carved, with taste and ability. Paper making, sugar boiling, timber felling, pearl and other fishing, with the manufacture of salt, form so many divisions of native industry.

Manufactures.

The arts never flourish in a thinly peopled country. Java has at all times been comparatively populous.[4] Recently an extraordinary increase has occurred. Thirty years ago it was under five millions[5], but had been stated in England as one.[6] It is now, according to one authority, above 10,000,000[7], standing in 1845

Population.

[1] But these were of splendid structure. Raffles, *Memoirs*, i. 221.

[2] Crawfurd, *History of Indian Archipelago*, i. 174.

[3] Raffles, *History of Java*. Crawfurd, *History of Indian Archipelago*.

[4] The pure and beautiful architecture of Java far excels the uncouth and grotesque style of Southern India. Raffles, *Memoirs*, i. 148.

[5] Raffles, *History of Java*, i. 73.

[6] Colquhoun, *Statistics of Great Britain*.

[7] Bleeker, *Tidschrift von Neerlands Indie*, trans. in *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*.

and 1846, 9,442,045; or, by another account, 9,560,380.[1] If these be true, and the historian of 1820 was exact, that writer's observation, though generally correct, was inapplicable to Java, that, wherever in those seas a Dutch influence has prevailed, depopulation has followed. When he wrote, however, the stricture may have been just. The ruins of temples, indeed, are not the only ruins on the island. One of the largest cities in Java, at Japara, was observed an utter wreck by an able and well-informed traveller in 1832.[2] Woods and wildernesses to this day occupy parts of an island whose resources are equal to the support of an immense population.[3]

Ruins.

The Javans are rather below the middle size, well made, slender, with small wrists and ankles. In most particulars they allow nature her free development. But the barbarous practice of confining the waist by pressure, with the still more unnatural whim of flattening the woman's bosom by tight bands drawn across it, has been adopted. The hue of virgin gold is their acme of beauty in complexion.[4] The men are better looking than the women. Indeed they are said to be beautifully formed, engaging in their manners and graceful in their deportment; while the females, delicately limbed, with bones and skulls of singularly fine construction[5], have degenerated in their persons from labouring and bearing burdens in the heat.[6] The con-

Physical character of the people.

Women.

[1] Spenser St. John, *Journal of Indian Archipelago.*

[2] Earl, *Eastern Seas*, 44.

[3] Jonathan Rigg, *Tour in Java, I. I. A.* iii. 85.

[4] Earl, *Eastern Seas*, 58. Albinos are well-known in Java. Prichard, *Researches*, i. 223. Crawfurd, *Indian Archipelago*, i. 23.

[5] Vrolikh, *Considérations sur les Diversités de Différentes Races Humaines.* Prichard, i. 328.

[6] Raffles, *History of Java*, i. 67.

dition of women, it is an indisputable truth, affects their form and features. An ill-fed, overburdened people is never beautiful. Much of a nation's civilisation may be learned from the appearance of its women.

Moral character.

The character of the Javanese can scarcely be drawn with exactitude, since accounts of them are so various. From a comparison of various views, we may nevertheless estimate it, with an approach to fidelity. They appear to be an acute, ingenious people, susceptible of a fine polish, fond of the elegant arts, addicted to gay pleasures, yet sober [1], credulous, vain, and reverential to authority.[2] They are bound to their traditions, but easily led where these are not concerned.[3] Many accounts agree in representing them as a faithless race, observing a treaty only until they enjoy an opportunity to break it.[4] Their vanity, vindictiveness [5], and treachery, were noticed by early writers [6], and to lie was reported honourable among them [7], though these arts were usually employed against strangers. But this is denied.[8] The character of the humbler is superior to that of the higher orders, corrupted by congregation in cities, the influence of native courts [9], and, formerly, by the example of the Dutch.[10] While there is a conflict of opinions with respect to their feelings towards women, it being said, on the one hand, that they are distinguished by an apathy natural to their constitution [11], and, on the other, that

[1] Stavorinus, *Voyages*, 743.
[2] Raffles, *History of Java*, i. 272.
[3] Temminck, *Coup d'Œil sur les Possessions Neerlandaises*, i. 290.
[4] Home, *Sketches of Man.*
[5] Crawfurd, *History of Indian Archipelago*, i. 65.
[6] Barros, *Decades of Asia.* [7] Heylyn, *Cosmography*, 920.
[8] Crawfurd, *History of Indian Archipelago*, i. 72.
[9] Raffles, *History of Java*, i. 282. [10] Tavernier, iii. 358.
[11] Crawfurd, *History of Indian Archipelago*, i. 42.

they are fiercely jealous and inflammable[1], it is certain large classes of them are to the last degree immoral. Their code of ethics is indeed good, but their practice is the reverse.[2]

Immorality.

The immorality of Java may, indeed, have long checked the increase of its population. It produced hideous diseases, introduced probably by Europeans, which were once known as the Portuguese disease[3], or, among the Javans, the royal distemper, possibly from being common in palaces.[4] Polygamy can be indulged in only by the wealthy, but the intercourse of the sexes is exceedingly loose. Among the lower classes the nuptial ceremony is rarely performed, and cohabitation forms of itself no bond, since women are frequently seen living with their fourth or fifth partner, without any great degree of scandal.[5] The result is an odious prevalence of immorality, which can only be remedied by the introduction among them of a new civilisation.[6]

Polygamy.

Virtues.

Their virtuous qualities, however, are not to be forgotten in our reprobation of their vices.[7] It is well for the Dutch[8] to describe them as an idle race[9], who destroyed all the objects of their industry[10]; but they are not generally indolent, and few nations — savage or civilised — have accomplished so much under the weight of a similar despotism. The little stores they amass they

[1] Raffles, *History of Java*, i. 278.

[2] For the notices of the old travellers see Nieuhoff, 315. 319.; Linschotten, 20.; Le Brun, ii. 197.

[3] Pigafetta, *Voyage*, 215, 216.

[4] Crawfurd, i. 33.

[5] Earl, *Eastern Seas*.

[6] Crawfurd, *History of Indian Archipelago*, i. 78, 79.

[7] They are not ill-described by Barros, iv. i. 76, 77.

[8] Domick, *Report*, 1812.

[9] Temminck, *Coup d'Œil sur les Possessions Neerlandaises*, i. 290.

[10] Raffles, *History of Java*, i. 284.

distribute with a generous hand to those who need and claim their aid.[1] Civilisation, indeed, may in many respects render superfluous this liberal practice of hospitality to strangers; but it is lamentable that the love of gain should ever destroy it altogether. While the barbarians of Java were exercising a hospitality like that of the Arabs, the commercial spirit, universal in Holland, so completely absorbed all others, that no office was performed without payment.[2] In Java an old English voyager remarked, that the natives supplied them far more generously and courteously than the Dutch.[3] Among themselves, indeed, a similar courtesy is prevalent; and while in the capital of the British empire men bandy the vilest and most opprobrious epithets, the half savage inhabitant of Java never applies to his antagonist a harsher term than buffalo! or goat![4] Among other of their characteristics, the love of living, or still more of dying, at home is remarkable.[5]

To complete the sketch of Javanese character one trait is essential. Though a courageous people, who form an exception to the axiom of the historian Herodotus, that it is not given by the gods to any country to produce rich crops and warlike men[6], they have distinguished themselves by the basest worship of princes. Rebellions, indeed, are sufficiently numerous in their annals, but only to exchange one despot for another, each with a right recognised as only not divine. They absolutely mimicked the beasts of the fields[7], and en-

Canine loyalty.

[1] Crawfurd, *History of Indian Archipelago*, i. 53.

[2] Montesquieu, *Esprit des Loix*, xx. 2.

[3] Beeckman, *Voyage to Borneo*.

[4] Crawfurd, *History of Indian Archipelago*, i. 52.

[5] Temminck, *Coup d'Œil sur les Possessions Neerlandaises*, i. 290.

[6] There are many facts which, at least, give a colour to this theory.

[7] See Hamilton, *New Account*, ii. 72.

joined in their moral law a canine servility perfectly revolting to human nature.[1] To kneel on their bare knees, to crawl in the attitude of brutes, and speak with grovelling tongues, was a part of their ethical code.[2] No people can be compared to them better than the polished slaves of Spain and the serfs of Sardinia[3] in the feudal age. Their language has in consequence been degraded by a copious vocabulary of the terms of adulation, such as it is difficult to imagine the lips of a man pronouncing.[4] Perhaps this is the only characteristic in which human nature has degenerated below the nature of the horse and pig.

Language of Java.

Otherwise, the language of Java is the most full and polished in the Archipelago.[5] It has been enriched and modified by numerous infusions from other countries.[6] In the literature of the island, its history, romance, and poetry, there is much that is curious, and no little to admire. If this be the mirror of civilisation, all who are interested in the social progress of the world will acknowledge the debt due to Sir Stamford Raffles, John Crawfurd, and J. R. Logan, for their investigations, which have been pursued with infinite philosophy, industry, and patience.

Religion.

The religious history of Java, curious as it is, does not enter within the scope of our present task. Far as our knowledge extends, it finds the Hindu faith para-

[1] Raffles, *History of Java*, i. 273.

[2] Crawfurd, *History of Indian Archipelago*, i. 99.

[3] See Tyndalle, *Sardinia*, iii. 278. Compare with the *Chinacida of Syria*, Montaigne, *Essais*, b. xi. c. xii. p. 168.

[4] Lebrun (ii. 109.) gives a good account of a Javan court, with its effeminate and licentious king.

[5] Crawfurd, *History of the Indian Archipelago*, ii. 1.

[6] Temminck, *Coup d'Œil sur les Possessions Neerlandaises*, i. 298. According to Raffles, the higher language of Java is entirely Sanscrit. *Memoirs*, i. 265.

mount, though whether, or at what time, the Buddhists were rivals of the Bhramans, no inquiry has hitherto rendered clear. That they existed is proved beyond doubt, by the numberless monuments which still remain of their piety and skill. Before the arrival of Europeans in the Archipelago, Arab missionaries brought their creed to Java, and propagated it with cautious, but unremitting, zeal. Tombs of their saints have been discovered bearing date a hundred years before Mojopahit fell (1478).[1] Gradually their influence rose; from traders and apostles they became conquerors and crusaders,—armed rivals of the Indian priesthood. The old system fell before the new, and, at length, a solitary tribe among the Tenghar hills, dwelling after a singular fashion, represented alone the ancient idolatry of Java.[2] They were an innocent, simple people, without criminal laws, because almost without crime,—forming, with the inhabitants of Bali, the last followers of the Hindu religion in the Archipelago.

Mohammedan apostles.

Retirement of Hindus.

To the aspect of Java, the traces and relics of the Hindu faith, which abound in all its provinces, lend singular touches of beauty.[3] The thousand temples of Borobodo, though shattered by time, and blemished by neglect; the countless places of worship, the pillars, caves, images, and sacred tombs, which everywhere attract the traveller's eye, are among the ornaments of the country.[4] They are indeed ruined, wrapped in

Ancient temples.

[1] Crawfurd, *History of Indian Archipelago*, ii. 214. The head-dresses of some hermits (Raffles, *History*, ii. 10.) are exactly similar to those on some of the figures at Elephanta. Pollier, i. 90. Dalton maintains that even in Borneo remains of Hindu temples and pagodas are found. *Asiatic Researches*, n. s. vii. 153.

[2] Raffles, *Address to Batavian Society*, *Life*, ii. 443.

[3] Rigg, *Tour of Java*. *Journal of Indian Archipelago*, iii. 80.

[4] Temminck, *Coup d'Œil sur l'Inde Archipelagique* i. 5.

moss, and obscured by the wildernesses in which they stand. Trees grow upon the solid old walls, weeds and rubbish choke the consecrated wells; but there is still in them the charm of an association with antiquity. The mutilation of these structures may be attributed, in many cases, to the image-breakers of the Prophet's faith. Time does not shatter; it rubs to dust; and now that the iconoclastic zeal is no longer active in Java, they may be expected long to exist as the memorials of the Hindu empire. Those who put faith in the destinies of the Revealed Religion must believe that the worship of Buddha, Brahma, and Mohammed will one day be succeeded by Christianity. When, however, those three creeds have disappeared, the works of their votaries will remain; for one thing is due to the Hindu and the Muslim — they erect their temples as though with an idea of the eternal duration of their faith. We, for the most part, build our churches as though the necessity for their use would perish with a few generations. When the historian of the future, after twenty centuries of time, looks back for memorial ruins, he will find no works like the pyramids, or the rock temples of Elephanta, as the records of our civilisation. It may be that two poetical conceits encourage to this neglect. Printing may have rendered unnecessary these monuments. We inscribe our actions on a million scattered leaves which descend to posterity, and are reproduced with every age, instead of leaving them engraven on walls of hewn granite, or colossal pillars of marble. Perhaps, also, the vanity of our civilisation may deny the possible advent of a time when men will look back to this as a period of ignorance and gloom. Of Christianity the prophecy is fair, for truth is imperishable; but of institutions and forms

Architecture of Hindus and Moslims.

Value of ruins.

of power, what one of them will last and require no record to carry down even the idea of its existence, to instruct or warn the future generations of mankind?

Political divisions of Java.

When the Dutch arrived, Java was divided into numerous petty sovereignties, acknowledging the supremacy of two superior states [1],—Pajang on the south,

Empire of Mataram.

and Demah on the north.[2] The empire of Mataram had also risen, and the island was drenched in blood by the struggle between these rival princes. The new monarchy, founded on crimes, which no malignity could exaggerate, was gradually overthrowing the pretensions of the other, and aspiring to spread its conquests over every province of Java.[3] The Mohammedan faith was almost universally acknowledged; but its laws were never rigidly obeyed. There appeared, therefore, an open field for the European conqueror and for the Christian apostle. While, however, the one was speedily established on a ground of operation, the exertions of the other were few, feeble, and almost without reward.

Muslim missionaries.

The reason is easily discovered. The missionaries of the Koran conciliated the natives, acquired their language, adopted their manners, assumed their costume, intermarried with them, shared their interests, and became part of their society.

Parallel with Europeans.

The Europeans, on the other hand, displayed violence, rapacity, pride, and unprincipled disregard of the natural rights enjoyed by the people.[4] The Mohammedan is faithful to his religion, which indeed admits an element of Christianity. He has preached it with success, because he has breathed

[1] One, according to Raffles, *Hist.* i. 8.; but if supremacy was claimed by one, it was disputed by another.

[2] Temminck, *Coup d'Œil sur l'Inde Archipelagique*, i. 16.

[3] Crawfurd, *History of Indian Archipelago*, ii. 340.

[4] Ibid. 417.

the spirit, and worn the manners, of sincerity. Nor can we regret his success; for he has never replaced a purer system by his own, a better by a worse[1], but has at least aided in the spiritual elevation of the human race, by reclaiming millions from a brutal uncouth idolatry to an acknowledgment of one God, though of strange attributes; of a heaven, though sensual and material; and of a social law, though indeed one that is at variance with the sentiments and the ideas of our civilisation.

Javanese pilgrimages to Mecca.

Before the dominion of Holland was founded, many Javans made the pilgrimage to Mecca, and even great chiefs journeyed to Arabia, to pay their vows at the Prophet's tomb. But when Dutch influence was established, these voyages were checked. The man who had worshipped at the holy shrine of Islam was invested by his countrymen with attributes of a superior order; and his authority, antagonistic to that of the Europeans, was regarded by them with aversion and envy. Consequently, by all the means in their power, they sought to close the road to Mecca. Nor was it an extraordinary policy. The efforts of these travellers was constantly directed to foment rebellion and discontent; to rouse the national feelings of the people, and inspire them with a pride of independence which would fret under the supremacy of men belonging to a foreign race, and possessing a strange religion. Consequently, while it was natural for the Javans to visit Mecca, to desire the free occupation of their own country, to conspire and plot against its invaders, it was also natural for the Dutch to repress these tendencies, and secure themselves in their infant empire.

[1] Thomas Carlyle.

From this period, their history in the Archipelago is that of conquest. They wore various characters as they proceeded, encountered some checks, and created not a few obstacles by their own choice of policy; but their career was nevertheless brilliant, rapid, and accelerated as much by their vigorous abilities as by their ambition.

CHAPTER XII.

In the year following the reduction of Jakatra and the founding of Batavia, the Dutch sealed a convention with the English East India Company. They agreed to peace, and proposed the joint conquest of the Banda group. Our countrymen declined. Their open plea was want of resources; but the secret ground of refusal probably was the idea that a joint enterprise, undertaken by rivals, is the sure precursor of a quarrel. With this conviction in their minds, the English held back from the adventure. They are charged with supplying arms to the islanders, and exhorting them to resist the aggressions of Holland. The assertion must remain uncontradicted, for there is no evidence to disprove, as there is none to establish, the fact. At any rate the Dutch were not deterred from the enterprise. On the 8th of March, 1621, seventeen companies of troops were landed on Banda. A line of batteries, formidable in appearance but poorly served, threatened them, and they refrained from advancing within range of the guns. The slopes of the central mountain swarmed with enemies, and the invaders were driven to their boats.

Treaty between the Dutch and English.

Negotiations.

A. D. 1621.

The natives were successful in two or three struggles, but the superior resources of the Europeans overcame their opposition. Banda was captured. Some of the inhabitants submitted; others fled into the interior; and though the group was occupied in the name of the United Netherlands, several provinces were maintained

Conquest of Banda.

in virtual independence by the fiery spirit of the people. Among the most resolute of the tribes were those of Loitar, who entrenched themselves in their wild retreats, and there defended their little relic of liberty, until hunger broke their determination, and they surrendered to the number of eight hundred. This band of prisoners was transported to Batavia.[1]

French arrive in the Archipelago.

Eager always to extend their own influence, they were still more impatient whenever there appeared, in any state of Europe, signs of a desire to share the advantages of Eastern trade. The spirit of enterprise had gradually spread through Christendom, and the French revived their ambition of securing a place among the eminent powers of the Archipelago. In 1621 they made their appearance under General Beaulieu, who brought from the king of France letters and rich gifts to the king of Achin. That prince was gratified, but not contented, by these attentions. All his craft was employed to obtain more presents. In the narrative of Beaulieu's expedition we find that many obstacles were thrown across his path, and much extortion was practised before he was able to negotiate for trade. We may perhaps, however, understand this extortion, in the sense of the day, as a refusal of the natives to exchange for trash the costly products, especially the pepper, of their country.

The course pursued by the Dutch had produced a feeling of distrust among the Achinese. They feared now to tempt strangers by a description of the valuable commodities afforded in their country, and insinuated that the pepper plantations in the kingdom had been destroyed, to make way for a humble, though a more profitable, culture of the soil. They also frankly stated

[1] Crawfurd, ii. 438.

they had no desire to trade with Europeans, lest Achin should be ruined by the same fate that fell on Bantam and Jakatra.

The confession made to the French relative to the pepper cultivation, explains the expulsion of the English and Dutch from Priaman and Tico, the chief depots of that valuable product. Even while they remained, the king's suspicion was so deep, that the governors of these towns were changed every third year, in order that no community of interest should grow up between them and the strangers. Long intercourse might lead to a dangerous alliance. At Padang also, whither the authority of Achin now extended, the Dutch were expelled. Failure of the mission.

Encountered by these obstacles, General Beaulieu's mission was a simple failure. His countryman accomplished nothing in the Archipelago.[1]

An universal, but unsuccessful, revolt among the Philippines, shows that at this period the Spanish rule in that group was hateful to the native race. It was too firmly established, however, to be easily overthrown, and the inflamed spirit of the people, quenched in blood, once more sank under the power it sought to destroy. The first century of Spanish history in the further East was brought to a close. The date is marked by a tragic and romantic incident, which, though not essential to the political narrative, may be noticed as an illustration of the manners of the Spaniards in their Indian settlements. Taxardo, governor of Manilla, whose administration was vigorous and not unsuccessful, married a Spanish woman of extraordinary beauty, and belonging to a noble family. She was faithless to him. He discovered her infidelity, watched her to a house where infamous meetings took place, Revolt in the Philippines. Anecdote of Spanish manners.

[1] Marsden, *History of Sumatra*, 36.

surprised her, bade her pray and confess her sins, and then, with his own hands, buried a dagger in her breast. Two years afterwards he died of melancholy, and at his request was buried in the Augustine chapel of Manilla, by the side of his wife.[1]

Peter de Charpentier, the fourth Dutch governor-general, was unfortunate in the auspices of his administration. The factory at Succadana was suppressed, as to hold it was too dangerous, and to relinquish it was no reason against future enterprises.[2] The introduction, indeed, of any European influence in Borneo would then have been a blessing on the people. The condition of the island was melancholy beyond conception. Broken into numerous states, governed by wretched despots, as rapacious as they were cruel, it was desolated by ceaseless wars. The wealth of its diamond mines, the rumoured abundance of bezoar stones, then supposed to be a mineral, led to constant struggles. Armed prahus, manned under the authority of the pirate kings, continually ravaged the coasts, plundering the maritime towns and villages, wasting the river borders, or blockading their mouths, and cutting off or carrying into slavery all who were not powerful enough to protect themselves. As a consequence of this unhappy anarchy, freebooting confederations were formed, and Borneo was the theatre of a war, in which to remain neutral was to be a victim. Whatever, therefore, was the character of the Dutch government, it could scarcely have failed in bringing a fortunate change to the tribes of Borneo, had chance placed them under its sway.

Enterprise in Borneo.

Pirate voyages.

Whenever the historian, admiring the rugged vigour of Dutch policy in the Archipelago, indulges in a fa-

[1] *Spanish Colonial History, Chin. Rep.* vii. 477.
[2] Leyden, *Sketch of Borneo*, 25.

vourable view of their share in its affairs, he is recalled to the old channel by some act which no exigency could excuse. It is now necessary to dwell upon transactions over which humanity would draw a veil. They have been variously described; but it is impossible to palliate them, though an English historian has not been wanting to attempt the task. The same writer found a congenial occupation for his pen in excusing the villanies practised against the English in the Black Hole of Calcutta.[1]

In the treaty between England and Holland, stipulations were made for mutual aid and defence. Their animosity was nevertheless more bitter, if possible, than before. Our countrymen, as the weak, were probably, in most cases, the aggrieved party. They complained that their Company was loaded with the expense, while the Dutch monopolised the conduct and the profits of the joint articles of the treaty. They made strong representations of the cruelty practised against the islanders of Banda. In reply, they were accused of intriguing with the Portuguese[2]; but whether this was or was not true, history will never cease to condemn the revenge which was wreaked upon them.[3]

A.D. 1623. Massacre of Amboyna.

In February, 1623, Captain Towerson, nine other Englishmen, nine Japanese, and one Portuguese sailor[4], accused of a conspiracy against the Dutch in Amboyna, were seized, put on a mock trial, subjected to fearful tortures, condemned, and put to death, in violation of all law, all honour, and all justice. The confession wrung from their lips when their limbs were on the rack was false. When they approached the hour of execution, and stood on the verge of eternity, they re-

[1] Mill, *History of British India*, iii. 166.
[2] Anderson, *History of Commerce*. Macpherson's *Annals*, ii. 305.
[3] Crawfurd, ii. 439. [4] Mill, *History of British India*, i. 52.

pented, and recanted the excusable lie.[1] It is no palliation of this atrocity to contend, that torture was then, among the Dutch, a legal instrument in the hands of justice.[2] Nor is it of any better avail to charge the English with similar deeds. No such charges are proved[3]; and had they been true, one vile act does not extenuate another. Even by the historians of Holland, the injustice and impolicy of the proceeding is admitted.[4] Whether any plot ever existed is more than doubtful. No evidence of it was ever discovered; no criminatory papers — nothing but a confession extorted by agony from two soldiers in the Dutch service. Not more than twenty Englishmen were on the island, while the Dutch had 300 in the fort, and several garrisons in the neighbourhood. The English had no arms or ammunition, and not a single ship; while the Dutch were plentifully supplied, and had eight vessels close at hand.[5] It may, indeed, be possible that our countrymen had concocted some wild scheme with the Javanese troops[6]; but no offence of theirs could justify the punishment inflicted.

Apology for it.

In Java, when news of the transaction arrived, the English president and council prepared a representation to the Court of Directors at home, declaring a commercial union with the Dutch impossible, and calling for the protection of a squadron in the Archipelago.[7] In England, intelligence of the catastrophe awakened the spirit of the entire people; but their pusillanimous king was content to sleep in his palace after a pitiful affectation of anger. The whole press teemed with

Rage of the English.

[1] Thornton, *State and Prospects of India*, 12.
[2] Mill, *History of British India*, i. 54.
[3] Wilson, *Notes to Mill*, i. 55.
[4] *Vie des Gouverneurs Hollondais. Hist. Gén. des Voyages*, xvii. 33.
[5] Thornton, *State and Prospects of India*, 12.
[6] Wilson, *Notes to Mill*, i. 55.
[7] Mill, *History of British India*, i. 56.

publications representing the English in Amboyna, stretched on the rack in convulsions, and expiring under the pangs of torture.[1] Memorials and petitions thickened upon the government.[2] The horrid scene was long afterwards mimicked on the stage[3], and the popular fury rose to such a height, that the Dutch merchants in London applied to the Privy Council for protection. The directors, called upon to answer these complaints, denied a part, and confessed some of the share they had in encouraging the outcry.[4] It was too universal for them to apprehend anything from the acknowledgment.

Petitions, with thousands of signatures, poured in on all sides upon the king.[5] An inquiry was opened. Its report still further inflamed the public mind. Reprisals were demanded; but when the Dutch government, in answer to representations from this country, offered the English leave to quit their settlements free of the usual duties, and build forts at not less distance than thirty miles from their own, declared their own right to administer the law as they pleased, and contended for their exclusive privilege to the Spice Islands, James was content and the matter rested.[6] The Company accepted a part of the proposal, murmured at the rest, but was unable to achieve anything in redress of the English interests dishonoured at Amboyna. Holland escaped the retaliation which might have been expected to fall upon her. James had spent vast sums of money on the navy, and hewn down immense quantities of timber to launch new ships; so that, as he represented

Demand for revenge.

Apathy of king James.

[1] *Relation of the Cruelties of the Dutch at Amboyna*, 12mo. 1665. Second part, 1673. In British Museum.

[2] Mill, *History of British India*, i. 56.

[3] Dryden, *Tragedy of Amboyna*. Scott condemns this play.

[4] *East India Papers*, in State Paper Office, qu. Mill, i. 57.

[5] Barchou de Penhoen, *Empire Anglais dans l'Inde*.

[6] Bruce, *Annals of East India Company*, i. 258.

to the Commons[1], our maritime force was in a better condition than it ever yet had been. It is singular to find, in an historian usually very exact, that the English people submitted almost without a murmur to the atrocious proceedings of the Dutch in Amboyna.[2] Our national library contains evidence of the popular fury[3] awakened; but the Tory writer probably committed the common Tory error of confounding the English government with the English people.

War between the Spaniards and Dutch. A. D. 1625.

Spared the effects of the fiery rage which their conduct had excited in England, the Dutch continued to pursue their career in the Archipelago, carrying on war against the Spaniards, and attacking them in their own settlements among the Philippines.[4] They resisted the effort, and established a new colony in Formosa, where the people received them with welcome, and readily listened to the preaching of their friars. An expedition was also equipped to retaliate upon the Dutch, and harass their commerce. At Siam, where they enjoyed the king's favour, a number of junks were destroyed[5], and the Siamese mission on its way to China was captured.

Colony in Formosa. A. D. 1626.

A. D. 1627.

The influence of Holland was, however, too firmly established to be effectually shaken by such a power as Spain. In 1627, Koen was again created governor-general, and his vigour at once gave an impulse to the Company's policy. His arrival in Batavia spread great alarm among the native princes, who still held to the hope of driving away for ever the strangers in their country. The lustre of the infant power in Java was,

Second administration of Koen.

[1] *Parliamentary History*, vi. p. 94.

[2] Hume, *History of England*.

[3] *The Amboyna Massacre; Relation of the Cruelties of the Dutch at Amboyna*, London, 12mo. two parts.

[4] Walton, *Preliminary Discourse*, 41.

[5] Ibid.

however, brightening with every year of its existence. All the Indian princes were astonished by its growth. They looked with wonder and fear upon the rising light of the new city, which threatened to eclipse in wealth and splendour the capitals of their most ancient kingdoms. The emperor of Mataram especially beheld in it a rival to be destroyed, or one day acknowledged supreme.

A. D. 1628. Designs of the Mataram emperor.

While, therefore, the Spaniards and the Dutch were involved in transactions with the other native powers, the Sultan of Mataram — fourth of the dynasty — conceived the project of ridding Java of its invaders. He designed the conquest of the western provinces, and sent a mission to Batavia, requiring aid in the undertaking. The Dutch refused, influenced by a politic fear of his power.

First siege of Batavia.

Furnished with a cause of quarrel, the sultan put an army into the field, and, towards the end of August, despatched it to lay siege, for the first time, to Batavia. His forces invested the city, after a fruitless attempt to take it by surprise. They trusted for success to their numbers. Rude stratagems were employed to seduce the besieged into danger. Fifty war prahus with 600 picked warriors descended the coast, and professed to bring the garrison a supply of cattle for sale. They were received with a welcome from the batteries, which was the signal for open war. To defend Batavia from its host of enemies, exaggerated by the native chronicles to 100,000 men, the Dutch had but a handful of troops, with some Chinese, and a few brave soldiers from Japan, always in the front of battle and last in the retreat.[1] They sallied upon the besiegers. A desperate conflict took place, and the Javanese army was at length driven

[1] Crawfurd, ii. 419.

far from the walls. Arrived upon an open plain, they rallied to the attack and pressed the forlorn hope of the Dutch within their gates.

Elated with their success, and confident in their increasing numbers, they again attempted a storm. It was made by night. Vast crowds rushed towards a redoubt, where the garrison, with close and rapid volleys, held them in check, until the masses of the enemy became almost overwhelming. The soldiers retreated, fighting inch by inch, and were gradually becoming faint and dispirited, when one cried out, "It never shall be said that these naked villains overcame men so well clothed as ourselves. I know well what to do." His comrades renewed the battle, while he fetched a pot full of indescribable filth and poured it over the bare bodies of the assailants. The stroke of steel was not so terrible to these half Muslim, half heathen islanders, in their dread of defilement, as contact with an unclean substance. They retreated; and the soldiers, each arming himself with a vessel, flooded them from the sinks of Batavia, until they fled in confusion, crying out that the Hollanders were devils, who used their infernal filth in war.

Reinforcements at this juncture arrived to the Dutch. The Javanese gave up their enterprise. They set fire to the camp, and were soon on the retreat. A body of troops followed and routed them with great slaughter on the plain near Batavia, dispirited and hopeless, thinned by famine, sickness, and the edge of the sword, to a tenth of their original number.[1] The broken host took the road to Mataram, and the Dutch were delivered from their first great peril.

Fury of the sultan.

The sultan was furious at the ill-success of his ex-

[1] Crawfurd, *History of Indian Archipelago*, i. 239. 418.

pedition. His army had pursued the siege with creditable valour, and their commander, as a barbarian, had shown no want of skill. Yet the failure was imputed as a crime, and visited by a heavy punishment, which curiously illustrates the civilisation of a Javan state at that period. The spirit of despotism here displays itself in its clearest colour and proportion. When on its retreat from Batavia, the Mataram army was encamped by the way, public executioners arrived from the sultan, and put to death the chief commanders, of whom one bore a severe wound to reproach his master's cruelty. They, however, had acted a similar part, and left 754 dead bodies, headless or pierced with stabs and otherwise mutilated, for their ill-success at the storming of Batavia.[1] Kings have adopted many singular devices to insure the loyalty of their people; but the Sultan of Mataram here gave an original example, not unaptly imitated in the Austrian military code of the nineteenth century.

Military execution.

While he had men to command, the ambitious prince was resolved to carry on a war against the Dutch. No task was easier than the creation of a large force in his country, where every man bore arms for his personal defence, and was continually ready for war. A mandate was issued to the governors of provinces; these transmitted them to the heads of villages, who chose from the peasants men to recruit the broken ranks of the army. Driven from the cultivation of the soil, a mass of unwilling valour, the armed slaves, without discipline or zeal, went to the conflict excited only by the opposition of the enemy. Some battalions of regular guards, however, were posted in front of the heavy intractable host, the organization of which occupied less than a year.

Preparations for a second siege.

A. D. 1629.

[1] Crawfurd, *History of Indian Archipelago*, i. 236.

It is said to have consisted of 120,000 men. The campaign was immediately opened. The army descended to Jakatra, and made three terrific assaults upon Batavia. Each time it was driven back with great slaughter. The defenders were steady to their duty. The zeal of the Chinese, the solid courage of the Hollanders, and the fiery valour of the Japanese, stood unbroken before the vast columns that rushed upon them with reckless determination. A constant vigilance, and a bravery which never slackened, gave the enemy no chance of a surprise. Every conflict sent the Javanese routed to their camp. The waste of blood was immense.[1] At length, loss in battle, famine, desertion, and wholesale executions reduced the besieged to half their original force. The sultan then recalled his army. Its second failure was accompanied by a second bloody visitation upon the defeated troops. The Dutch found in the deserted encampment 800 carcases, gashed with innumerable wounds, laid out in rank and file in the attitude and on the spot where they had died to expiate their inferiority in the art of war.[2]

New defeat of the Javanese.

One aid to the Dutch in their defence of Batavia was the fact that no system of commissariat was adopted in these campaigns. The Javan king allowed the war to support itself. Each man brought at his own expense a small stock of provisions; but the country was laid under contribution for the rest. The Javans, in times of necessity, indeed, are examples of abstinence; and have subsisted, after the utter desolation of a district, on wild roots, the tender young leaves of forest plants and trees, enduring every privation and hardship to satisfy their king's ambition.[3] To be grateful, how-

Native warfare.

[1] Raffles, *Hist. Java*, ii. 170.

[2] Crawfurd, *History of Indian Archipelago*, i. 236. [3] Ibid.

ever, does not belong to the prerogative at least of Asiatic princes. The noxious climate of the province was another ally of the Dutch against the armies of Mataram. Their fortifications, roughly built of coral, were more formidable in appearance than in reality.[1]

Able to defend their city, the Dutch were unequal to the chastisement of their enemy; and it was not until 1633 that they entered on any design against him. An embassy was then sent to Bali, claiming assistance from the king of that island against the prince of Mataram, whose power was dreaded in all the neighbouring countries. Even this resulted in no immediate action, for the attention of the government was drawn to Amboyna and the rest of the Spice group, where a fierce rebellion had broken out, which long continued to disturb the Dutch authority. A. D. 1633. A. D. 1634.

The Portuguese at this time experienced a misfortune at Achin, where their minister was imprisoned with all the factors; an injury which the governor of Malacca felt himself too weak to revenge. Nor were the Spaniards without a share of misfortune. They had, with considerable energy, pursued their interests among the Philippines, opening new relations with China, Camboja, and Japan, attempting to punish the buccaneers of the Sulu group, and effectually resisting the encroachments of the Dutch. In 1637, they sailed from their military capital against Mindanao—from that day to this, a haunt of formidable pirates. Another expedition visited the Sulu Sea. These visitations of their anger reminded the buccaneers, from time to time, that their depredations were offensive to the European powers. A short fit of havoc, the overthrow of a few strongholds, and the dispersion of some armed A. D. 1635. Misfortune of the Portuguese. A. D 1637. Ravages of piracy.

[1] Macartney, *Embassy to China*.

bodies, however, was all that could be effected, and the predatory islanders were left to their independence.[1] Had England, Spain, and Holland leagued to destroy this enemy alike to civilisation, commerce, and nature itself, not the most sensitive theorist upon the original liberties of mankind could have censured the achievement. Ships were plundered, coasts laid waste, villages burned, towns sacked, men cut to pieces, women and children torn to slavery by the freebooting hordes which infested the Sulu group, and the shores of Mindanao. The old, the sick, and crippled were massacred; the peace of innocent communities was broken; and all amelioration in the social state of the Archipelago rendered impossible, by swarms of robbers who gave the name of war to their pillaging adventures.

Their atrocious character.

The Spaniards had not the power, the Dutch had not always the inclination to become the destroyers of this system. The Council of Batavia, occupied with other schemes, directed little notice to the transactions on the northern borders of the Archipelago. Troubles in the Moluccas continued to render their possession of the group uneasy and dangerous. To secure it by fixing their influence on one of the most important islands in that sea, they despatched an envoy to Goa and Macassar in Celebes, where their first treaty with the king was concluded in 1639.[2]

The Moluccas. A. D. 1638.

A. D. 1639.

Another horrid scene in the history of Spanish progress in the Philippines now opens to view. The massacre of three and twenty thousand Chinese, six and thirty years before, had not prevented the settlement, in great numbers, of that enterprising and industrious,

New massacre in the Philippines.

[1] Crawfurd, ii. 471.

[2] Crawfurd, *Hist. Indian Archipelago*, ii. 439. (M. Temminck dates it at 1637.)

but unruly people, demoralised by many ages of slavery. They had increased again to thirty thousand. Their rapid multiplication appeared to the governor of the Philippines to be full of danger. The activity of the Dutch squadron in the China Sea failed to prevent their continual immigration; and year after year, squadrons of huge junks arrived at Manilla. Their commercial competition was not now to be feared, since they engaged chiefly in agriculture. The Spaniards feared, perhaps, that the portentous crime of 1603 was remembered, and would some time be revenged. Added to this, they found in the Chinese active rivals, who occupied the avenues to wealth and influence, with a success not flattering to the vanity of men who claimed to be by right, the lords ascendant of all the East. They, therefore, oppressed them, used every occasion to humiliate them; laid restrictions on their industry; sought, indeed, to make of them a Pariah caste; and accumulated in their treatment all that could insult and aggrieve them. There is a point where the most servile will refuse to suffer. Possibly the Chinese were deliberately driven to despair, that their insurrection might justify a massacre.

Immigration of the Chinese.

Their oppression.

At any rate a few of their number, galled by their wrongs, revolted and a general rising took place. In a moment the Spanish sword was out.[1] The wretched Chinese, without arms or discipline, making only a few faint efforts at resistance, were slaughtered wholesale; driven from place to place, cut to pieces when they stood at bay, hunted down when they fled. The thirty thousand were reduced to seven[2], when they capitulated, having killed only three hundred and fifty of their executioners.[3] This dark and bloody drama provoked

Revolt.

Slaughter.

[1] Walton, *Preliminary Discourse*, 41. [2] Crawfurd, ii. 460.
[3] *Spanish Colonial History, Chin. Rep.* vii. 529.

no retaliation from China, where domestic troubles consumed all the energies of the imperial government.

A. D. 1640. Designs of the Dutch on Malacca.

The Dutch had long meditated the conquest of Malacca from the combined powers of Spain and Portugal, and were preparing for the attempt, when the rise of the Duke of Braganza to the independent throne of Portugal separated those kingdoms. The king of Achin sent twenty-five prahus to assist in the siege. On his death, the queen who succeeded refused to lend her aid; but the Dutch were resolved to take Malacca, cost what it might. They established a blockade, and in five months the city surrendered to their arms.[1] Immediately afterwards they received intelligence that the crowns of Portugal and Spain were separated, which was immediately followed by a revolt of all the Portuguese colonies from the Spanish authority.[2] Their great jealousy had been of Spain, once their despotic master, now their envious rival; their great desire had been the conquest of Malacca. When, therefore, the one had parted from Portugal, and the other been wrested from her, a cessation of war was agreed to, and a ten years' truce established — in all parts of Eastern Asia. They next proceeded to occupy the whole of Formosa, whence they threatened the Philippines, and held Manilla in continual fear.

A. D. 1641. The city acquired.

Their jealousy of Spain.

A. D. 1642. Occupation of Formosa.

A. D. 1643.

While these naval and military triumphs extended their empire in the Archipelago, their governor-general in Java was employed in consolidating the power thus established. Van Diemen, at the time of the discovery of Tasmania, of New Zealand, and the country which derives its name from him, executed a task of much labour and great importance. He was among the ablest

Van Diemen.

[1] Crawfurd, ii. 432.

[2] *Spanish Colonial History, Chin. Rep.* vii. 532.

servants of Holland, in the administration of her Indian possessions, and projected the compilation of that celebrated code known as the Statutes of Batavia. His predecessors had felt the necessity of some organised government; but had never reduced their scheme to a distinct written formula. They had attempted, indeed, to frame a plan, to constitute tribunals, and regulate the mutual relations of the people under their rule. A vast collection of proclamations, filed in the public archives, composed their repertory of law; but Van Diemen compiled an ample collection of decrees, written in the native tongue, neatly classified, with short headings, to which easy reference could be made.[1] On the 5th of July, 1642[2], the Ordinances and Statutes of Batavia were promulgated from the city castle, and by the next despatch sent home to Holland, where the supreme government approved them.

His code of laws.

Statutes of Batavia.

The war with Spain was pursued on a remarkable plan. Before a direct attempt upon the Philippines, the Dutch sought to establish themselves in the neighbourhood, and attacked the pirate communities of the Sulu group. The ready valour of the buccaneers repulsed them, and they visited Mindanao with a similar purpose. There also they met defeat. Eleven ships were then furnished with all the equipage of war, for the invasion of the Philippines. Powerful as it was, the fleet was unable to reduce Manilla. It made a few ineffectual demonstrations at various points, and retreated from the enterprise, leaving the Spaniards loud in their flourishes of triumph. It was not long before this tone was changed. Salicala, son of the Sulu king,

War with Spain. A. D. 1644.

A. D. 1645.

Unsuccessful attack on Manilla.

Fugitives from Sulu.

[1] Raffles, *History of Java.*

[2] See Crawfurd, *Hist. of Indian Archipelago*, where the commencement of this compilation is dated 1643.

with a horde of Malays from Borneo, suddenly appeared in the narrow channels of the group, passed along the shores of various islands, ravaged them, and spread havoc wherever he landed.[1] He collected much plunder, with numerous slaves, and bore them away with other trophies of success, like those which graced the camp of the French, after their bloody march through the Kabylie.[2]

The Spaniards revenged upon the people of Borneo all they had suffered from the marauders of Sulu. A flotilla visited its coast, laid waste the maritime districts, destroyed numerous villages, and bore away 200 prisoners as slaves.[3] If the commanders of the expedition were discriminating, and punished only those communities they knew to be piratical, we can only admit the propriety of these transactions. There is reason, however, to fear that little caution was exercised in the choice of victims, as no inquiries were made into the actual guilt of those who were punished by the destruction of their towns and crops.

Expedition against pirates.

Misfortunes increased upon the Spaniards. A general revolt among the Philippines occurred, and was suppressed at a high cost of blood. Such explosions, frequent as they were, broke up the industry of the people, opened new wounds to afflict them, hardened their masters in oppression, and when tranquillity was restored, it was only a truce between enemies. It was the exhaustion of the rebel forces, and "gave the name of peace to desolation."[4] A new disaster followed in the train of this.

Revolt in the Philippines.

It was the evening of Saint Andrew's day. In the

[1] Walton, *Preliminary Discourse*, 43.
[2] Dawson Borrer, *Campaign in the Kabylie*, 67.
[3] Zuniga, *Historical View of the Philippines*, i. 282.
[4] Algernon Sydney, *Discourses on Government.*

streets and churches solemn rites had been performed in commemoration of the city's deliverance from the pirate Limahon. The inhabitants were making ready for a gay celebration of the event. The squares and the beach were crowded with revellers gaily dressed, enjoying the mild air of that happy climate. There was a blue sky, clear of clouds, and the ocean was flowing into the immense bay of Manilla, without a wave upon its surface. Suddenly the waters seemed convulsed by some tremendous movement beneath; the river swelled and foamed tumultuously in its bed; heaven darkened, and the wind rose to a hurricane. The earth, rending asunder, emitted globular flames of fire. Land and sea trembled. Shock after shock threw the city into a mass of ruins. The population, too terrified to fly, was overwhelmed. Shrieks, half of fear, half of prayer, rose through the darkness. All nature seemed in the throes of some strange birth.[1] Superstition, more powerful than ever in times of danger and distress, added new horrors to the reality — horrible as it was. Great prodigies were declared to have been witnessed. The statue of Saint Francisco was seen to weep, to sweat with drops of sorrow, and for three hours to hold forth its hands in the attitude of supplication. From that day the saint was entitled patron of the earthquake, and styled Saint Francis of Tears.[2]

Earthquake in Manilla.

The commotion was violent and prolonged. When day broke, Manilla was a wreck. Cathedral, church, college, convent, and hospital were overthrown; and 600 victims were dragged from amid the ruins of the houses. Driven from the city, the people dwelt in the

Its disastrous effects.

[1] Walton, *Preliminary Discourse*, 44.

[2] *Spanish Colonial History*, *Chin. Rep.* vii. 534

country, under whatever shelter they could provide, until time was allowed them to re-erect their dwellings. Shocks were felt at intervals during sixty days, and all the islands were shaken more or less.

Restoration of the city.

In raising Manilla from its ruins, numerous precautions were adopted. It was before adorned with lofty mansions, upon whose terraced roofs and high projecting galleries the citizens were accustomed to enjoy the air. These peculiarities disappeared. Terrace and balcony still were built, but with a more modest elevation, and no house rose above two stories. Projecting timbers, ingeniously disposed; and a solid plan of structure indicated a city in dread of earthquakes. Few of the disasters which checked their naval or political career were so portentous as this blow, which fell not only on the government, but on the merchants, traders of every class, and, indeed, on the whole population of the Spanish settlements in Luzon.

A. D. 1646. Fortune of the Dutch.

Fortune prospered the Dutch, while their rivals were loaded with disaster. In 1646, Cornelius Vander Lyn, successor to Van Diemen, acceded to the application of the Mataram monarch, and sent a mission to his court.

Treaty in Java.

The first written treaty was concluded between the two powers. Its stipulations were for an armed union for aggression and defence; — that all prisoners of war should be liberated; that the Susunan should be annually informed of all curiosities arriving from Europe; — that all priests or other persons he should wish to send among foreign nations should be conveyed in the company's ships; — that fraudulent debtors, flying from justice, should be delivered up; — that the contracting powers should be brothers in war and peace; — and that the Susunan's subjects might trade at any place under the Dutch authority, except Amboyna, Banda, or Ternate; while every prahu bound for Malacca, or places

north of that city, should touch at Batavia, and apply for passes.[1] These details, if tedious, are necessary to our purpose, as illustrating the progress of the Dutch in their commercial relations with the native states of the Archipelago.

Settlement in Borneo.

A settlement is said about this period to have been made by the Dutch in Banjarmassin, on the northern coast of Borneo; but it is on doubtful authority, and was certainly neither valuable nor influential. Another by the Spaniards, is noticed as being broken up in this year; but when it was established is unknown.[2]

Politics of Europe.

A reference, from time to time, to the politics of Europe is necessary, to throw light on the relations which existed between the rival powers in the Archipelago. The Thirty years' war, now terminated, was followed by others as fierce and bloody in proportion. England and Holland, though naturally united by a common religion and common liberties, were shaking the world with the mighty battles of Blake and Tromp.[3] Portugal was defending against Spain the House it had re-erected, though never restored to its ancient splendour.[4] Spain, the great stronghold of Romish superstition, was hurrying down the slope of her long decline; and England, under the policy of Cromwell, was rising to a power and reputation unapproached at any earlier period of her history.[5] The humiliation she had suffered under the first James and the first Charles, was atoned by the courage and vigour of the great Protector, whose councils moved her conduct. The same hand that had shattered the pretensions of Divine right, and beheaded one of the worst criminals known to

Cromwell.

[1] Raffles, *History of Java*, ii. 172.
[2] J. R. Logan, *European Intercourse with Borneo*, *J. I. A.* ii. 498.
[3] See Hepworth Dixon's *Life of Blake*.
[4] Heeren, *Historical Researches*, i. 184.
[5] Macaulay, *History of England*, i. 138.

history, made its power felt among the farthest islands of Asia; the merchants and people of England were promised satisfaction for the loss and insult they had endured from the Dutch at Amboyna.[1] For the murder of their countrymen no compensation was required, as none could be made.

Policy of Holland. A. D. 1652.

Engaged deeply in the politics of Europe, Holland nevertheless pursued her fortune among the Indian islands, though with more vigour than wisdom. The revolt in the Moluccas was met by rude measures of coercion. Ternate was occupied, and the king carried in captivity to Batavia. He still continued to encourage the resistance of his chiefs, and their struggle was courageous and protracted. One, the patriarch of a tribe, who had long defended an interior district, saw his followers relaxing in their resolution, made terms with the Dutch, engaged to barter his religion for his life, and surrendered with his family. The treatment he experienced was more worthy of an Asiatic than an European conqueror. Considering him unworthy of the honour they had promised, the Dutch dragged him, with his mother, sister, and brother, to a prison, and thence to the scaffold.[2]

Conflict in the Spice group.

Cruelty.

The king of Ternate, held in durance at Batavia, was forced to agree, by a written treaty, to destroy all the cloves in his dominions. This was the original ground of quarrel, and the means of settling it were equally characteristic of the spirit which then animated the merchant-governors of the East. It was the unhappy passion of monopoly which betrayed them into their greatest follies and their greatest crimes. The judgment of their modern writers has induced them to

Passion for monopoly.

[1] Hume, *History of England*, viii. 284.

[2] Crawfurd, *History of Indian Archipelago*, ii. 440.

be candid enough to confess it. "It is a truth unfortunately too well known,—which it were useless to deny,—that to insure a monopoly of trade in these articles, the Company rooted up, frequently by force of arms, all the nutmeg and clove trees in excess of their own wants."

While they effected their purpose at Batavia, the governor of Amboyna—a wretch named Vlaming—was rioting in the exercise of his little spell of power. By violence and breach of faith, he secured twenty Molucca chiefs, and sentenced them to death. Some were drowned in the sea, some killed with clubs, some broken on the wheel, others strangled. One, a Mohammedan noble, leaped from a fortification and fractured a limb. He was carried up to the same spot, compelled to repeat the leap, and died.

Massacre of chiefs.

In February the next year, another execution of the captive princes of the Moluccas took place. One was prince Tertillo, a distinguished warrior, who walked to the scaffold with a face rendered magnificent by the undaunted air it wore, and offered his neck to the axe, heroic in the love of country. Saydy, another great chief, was secured on the field of battle, where he lay gashed with numerous wounds. Thus mutilated, he was carried senseless into the presence of Vlaming, who thrust the shaft of a spear into his mouth, bade him wake from that sleep, and insulted him with gross indignities. The dying wretch turned aside his head, to avoid looking at the barbarian, who then left him to the soldiers. These with the fury of wolves rushed on their victim, hewed him to pieces, and while his limbs yet quivered with the warmth of life, scattered them among the rocks.[1]

A. D. 1653. Second massacre.

Crimes of the Dutch.

[1] Crawfurd, ii. 442.

Revolt in Celebes.

The king of Macassar, allied with the Dutch, was irritated by their cruelty. He took up arms against them. A naval fight occurred on the 6th of March, but neither was victorious, and the revolt still raged throughout the Moluccas. In May, a third massacre was enacted. Among the victims, was John Pays, an Amboynese Christian, who had converted many of the islanders. He was led to execution with his companions, in the dead of night; and in the morning, when the native troops were on parade, Vlaming exposed the bleeding heads to inspire them with terror.

Night execution.

The revolt which was sought in this manner to be suppressed, spread with undiminished fury, and enemies rose up on all sides against the Dutch. The Spaniards in the Philippines experienced similar disasters. Their colony was now spiritually governed by an archbishop. The Pope, observing the licentious manners of the settlers, desired his representative to make them a grant of indulgence, "absolving every excess or crime in which the residents of Manilla might be found implicated." The Roman Catholics received joyously their warrant of licence, and on the second day of March, 1654, the whole island were blessed, and 40,000 persons confessed their sins in the streets of Manilla. It is not known — as perhaps it was never calculated — what revenues accrued to the priesthood from this performance; but doubtless it was productive of no small profit. Notwithstanding these rites of peace, the tribes of the interior provinces continued to shed their blood in rebellion, and the Spaniards to coerce them by force of arms. In the Philippines, as in the Moluccas, the whole energies of the Europeans were required to resist the efforts of the native chiefs. Spain had her own weakness to oppress her. Holland,

The Spaniards.

A. D. 1654.

Their dangers.

though in the bloom of her power, was engaged with a formidable enemy.

The Amboyna tragedy was not yet forgotten in England. The redress, long promised, was still withheld, and the arms of Cromwell extorted what was refused to the representations of the merchants. The English trade in the East had been cut up by the cruizers of Holland; and petitions to Parliament and the king were vainly made. At length, during the Protectorate, when our naval flag was more respected than at any period before, or long after[1], war broke out with the Dutch. They were speedily reduced to sue for peace. An agreement was concluded at Westminster, in 1654. The contending companies consented to receive the decision of a council of eight, four appointed by each nation. Should these fail to achieve a speedy settlement, the affair was to be arbitrated by the Protestant Swiss Cantons. The commissioners met on the 30th of August. The English claimed for damages from 1611 to 1652, 2,695,999*l.* 5*s.*; the Dutch, 2,919,861*l.* 3*s.* 6*d.*, or a balance of 233,861*l.* 8*s.* 6*d.* above the demand upon them. Each claim was probably immensely exaggerated; the commissioners, at all events, judged it so, and awarded the English 85,000*l.*, of which no more than 3,615*l.* was laid to the account of the Amboyna massacre. Polaroon, not worth receiving, was also ceded, though not given up until it had been wasted, and then only with reluctance.[2]

War with Holland.

Peace concluded.

During several years the tenure of the Dutch on their possessions in the Moluccas was rendered precarious by the unmitigated hostility of the natives, excited to fresh hatred by the enormities practised on

The Moluccas.

[1] Macaulay, *History of England*, i. 139.

[2] Mill, *History of British India*, i. 82.

A. D. 1659. their chiefs. Numerous disasters befell them. In 1659 they settled peaceful and more advantageous relations with Bantam[1] and Achin[2]; but suffered in another part of the further East the greatest reverse which had yet fallen on them, and foreboding great danger to the Spanish colonists in Luzon. The Portuguese victories in Celebes were, however, in 1660, revenged, and the Macassars beaten in several actions.[3]

Fugitives from China.

The event that led to the elevation of the Mantchu dynasty in China expatriated numbers of the people,

Coxinga.

and Koe-sing-kong—a name corrupted into Coxinga—the son of a general, being marked as a victim of the new power, fled to the sea for safety.[4] Driven from his country by its Tartar usurpers, he sought refuge with 20,000 men in the isles of Eye and Guenung, off the south-eastern coast of the Asiatic continent, lofty rocky islands, formed by nature to be a retreat

His achievements.

for the refugee. Thence he spread terror through the neighbouring waters. He audaciously corresponded with the Dutch, and his defiance alarmed the Council of Batavia. They resolved to continue on peaceful, if not friendly, terms with him; they complained with gentle tone of the ill-treatment by his followers of some people in the Pescadore isles, and he courteously denied it. Amicable relations were preserved for a short time; but their boldness, or his insolence, soon brought on hostilities. An engagement took place by

A. D. 1661. Attack on Formosa.

sea; the Dutch were defeated. Coxinga then landed on Formosa, and marshalled his fighting men. His forces were divided into three divisions, and an action by land was precipitated by the extravagant contempt of the Hollanders for their barbarian foes. The first

[1] Temminck, ii. 18.
[2] Raffles, *History of Java*, ii. 172.
[3] Crawfurd, ii. 388
[4] Walton, *Preliminary Discourse*, 45.

battalion of the enemy, composed of skilful archers, let fly their shafts; the second, or heavy-armed, with swords and bucklers, then came down to the charge, and was followed by the third, armed with long and formidable pikes. The Chinese were victorious, and a conference took place between the deputies from Batavia and the pirate chief.

Deputation to Coxinga.

Coxinga sat in his state tent and combed his shining black hair, while the deputies humbly attended his pleasure. His counsellors, in long robes, stood around, and the buccaneers were drawn up without, to terrify the defeated Europeans. The haughty tone and imperative demands of the freebooter were too uncompromising to be yielded, and the deputies withdrew with expressions of defiance. They retired to a little fort and a bloody struggle immediately took place. During nine months the troops of Coxinga, infinitely superior in numbers, besieged the stronghold. Several breaches were made, but the garrison filled them with bales of Indian stuffs and linen until no hope of success was left, when they surrendered, and the whole island was abandoned to the pirates.

New conflict.

Bravery of the Dutch.

Formosa.

Formosa is of picturesque aspect, covered with hills and valleys, gracefully distributed, with fine streams and a productive soil. Its people were then a humble, hospitable race, governed by a republican administration, barbarous in some usages, but civilised in others. Their ideas were peculiar. They ascribed all storms and other commotions of the clements to the conjugal feuds of the gods.

Treaty with Achin.

To atone in some degree for the loss of Formosa, the Dutch signed a treaty with the king of Achin, who placed the people of the south-west coast under their protection, and granted them a commercial monopoly.

At various places in Java, they established their influence, securing always, when possible, the exclusive privilege of trade.

A. D. 1662. In the next year occurred an event which, more than any other, was full of peril to the Spanish dominion among the Philippines.

Career of Coxinga. Coxinga had now fairly embarked his fortunes as a buccaneer. Large numbers of lawless, but warlike, adventurers followed, and readily obeyed a chief whose skill and vigour led them victorious into enterprises overflowing with profit. Elated by the conquest of Formosa, the princely freebooter was resolved to lay the foundations of a new empire among the islands of Asia.

Missions to the Philippines. The Philippines, as the nearest, were the first objects of his desire. Assuming the tone of royalty, he despatched a Dominican friar by way of ambassador to the governor of Manilla, demanding an immediate and unqualified recognition as supreme ruler of the group, insisting on the payment of tribute, and threatening dire vengeance on all who refused to acknowledge him alone Lord of the further East. An ordinary pirate would have followed a different, and perhaps a wiser, course. Coxinga was successful so long as he was a plain sea-robber; but when he assumed imperial airs, sent envoys, and trumpeted his design, before him, he threw away his chance, and, by forewarning the Spaniards of his design, forearmed them against it. Though terrified by his message, they refused, of course, to obey it, and the little Archipelago rang with preparations for war.

Threatening letter.

Its impolicy.

Preparations for defence. The churches and convents near Manilla were dismantled and destroyed, lest the enemy should secure them as forts or magazines. The project of slaughtering the Chinese, as a measure of safety, was discussed, but abandoned. It was determined to embark on board

the junks in the bay all the unchristianized settlers of that nation; while the converts, it was supposed, would adhere to the patrons and apostles of their new religion. A peremptory order was proclaimed for all the others to leave the islands. The Chinese, remembering their former sufferings, expecting a new massacre, dreading perhaps an universal noyade in the bay, seized arms to defend themselves. Some Spanish officers were cut down. Immediately the batteries of the city were opened on the dense masses of their dwellings below. Numbers were slaughtered, some escaped in boats, some committed suicide. Eight or nine thousand were induced to lay their arms down; while those who fled into the jungles were hewn to pieces by the Spaniards or their Indian allies. To Coxinga this answer was returned: — That Spaniards obeyed only God and their king, and would as soon desert one as the other; that his demands were insolent, and that the ports of the Philippines should be closed against his countrymen until he withdrew them. Intelligence of the slaughter at Manilla reached the pirate before their embassy, and he prepared to execute his threat.

Slaughter of the Chinese.

Reply to Coxinga.

Hurried preparations were made in Luzon to resist the impending attack. The garrisons in the neighbouring islands were withdrawn to be concentrated for the defence of Manilla. Probably, however, all the courage of the Spaniards, all their varied resources of war, and the fortifications they had erected during their hundred years of settlement could have availed little against the immense horde of buccaneers preparing to invade them; but an accident saved them in the Philippines, as another had saved the Dutch in Java. Coxinga died. His son, a man of feminine timidity, without ambition, and without ability, was too contemptible to be dreaded, too

Danger of the Spaniards.

Death of Coxinga.

pusillanimous even to attempt the prosecution of his father's plans.[1]

Still they had received a lesson too significant to be despised. They saw that their establishment in the Philippines was too narrowly founded to form the base of operations for a wider circle of conquest. In the following year, therefore, they abandoned altogether their little tenure in the Molucca islands, where they had never been, and never could hope to be successful. Other causes combined to injure their authority. The flame of intestine discord was never quenched, and only ceased for an interval to rage during periods of extraordinary danger.[2] The buccaneers of Sulu, also, gave abundant occupation to their arms; and, though a treaty was in this year concluded with them, they probably cut off the communication of the Spaniards with Brunè.[3]

A. D. 1663. Spaniards abandon the Moluccas.

If, in most parts of the New World the native powers have, by their own folly or want of faith, offered their territories to conquest, the Europeans, of every nation, have varied their fortune with disaster by errors of policy always resulting from divided and vacillating councils.

[1] Spanish Colonial History, *Chin. Rep.* vii. 538.

[2] Crawfurd, ii. 461

[3] Logan, *Journ. Ind. Arch.* ii. 499.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE progress of Holland in the Indian Archipelago, if it display no parallels to the grand achievements of Cortez and Pizarro, is nevertheless romantic, from the conduct of her adventurers, as well as from the wonderful interest attaching to the islands which made for her a theatre of conquest. Merchants and navigators were the founders of her empire. They entered the ports of the native kingdoms, made presents to the savage chiefs who sat, in petty mimicry of the greater potentates of India, on the thrones of provinces, sent envoys to inquire concerning the products of various countries, bargained for cargoes of spices, pepper, and other rare commodities, and continually sailed to and fro, from island to island, building on their remote and barbarous coasts little factories where the riches of the traders were stored, and shipped for the market of Amsterdam. In 1664, they visited Benjarmassin, again renewing the treaty of commerce, and seeking to bind the faith of its ruler by a new convention. He put his seal to the bond, but, hating all Europeans except the English, connived at their illicit trade, as well as that carried on by the still more enterprising Chinese.

A. D. 1664. Course of Dutch conquest.

Visit to Borneo.

In other parts of the Archipelago the Dutch either armed voluntarily or were forced to arm in self-defence. They spread their authority from Java along nearly the whole western coast of Sumatra.[1] The islanders, it is

[1] Crawfurd, ii. 434.

said, solicited their aid in the conquest of Indrapura and Salida, with other districts, whence they drove the Achinese. The chief of Palembang, by the seizure of two Dutch ships and murder of their crews, opened the door to invasion, and widened it by the assassination of an envoy sent to demand redress. A squadron was fitted out to punish him, and lay siege to his capital. Encircled by wooden palisades and a deep ditch, the city held out, until the fire of the men-of-war levelled all its defences.[1] It was captured and laid in ruins. From its situation on one of the crowded highways of trade, and the fertility of the surrounding country, Palembang was an exceedingly desirable station. To secure himself from further injury, the Sultan was therefore induced to sign a treaty, granting the Dutch a monopoly of commerce. The people of Pir, on the same island, incurred similar danger by cutting off the Dutch establishment, on the isle of Chingo, near their coast; but the accidents of their intercourse with other states saved the guilty community from the consequences of this outrage.

Attack on Palembang.

Treaty with the Sultan.

War with Macassar.

A war with the king of Macassar required all the resources of the Dutch to support. With an immense flotilla of armed prahus, and a numerous horde of men, he appeared in the Molucca sea, meditating a conquest of the group and the Xulla isles in its neighbourhood. One Dutch vessel was pillaged, and an attack made on their fort in Bouton.[2] The triumphs of his savage legions by land and sea were not so despicable, but that the Dutch in alarm hastened to the succour of their establishments. A large naval force was equipped, put under the command of Admiral Spielman,

A. D. 1666.

[1] Crawfurd, ii. 434.

[2] Temminck, *Coup d'Œil sur l'Inde Archipélagique*, iii. 9.

and despatched to attack the rising enemy. The Macassars, in immense numbers, met them at Bouton; a conflict immediately followed; the enemy was assaulted, routed and pursued, so that a small remnant only escaped the battle. Thence the admiral, sending his 5000 prisoners to a desert isle, where they were left without means of support or escape, sailed back to Sumatra, where the tribes of the western coast had rebelled against his authority. Perhaps the settlement of the English this year at Padang encouraged their discontent. In the course of a few months the whole territory from Barus to Salebar was subdued, and the fleet had been at liberty to pursue the expedition against Macassar; but the submission enforced was never of long duration.[1] Under the walls of that city, the Dutch issued challenges of war to the native powers. The people of Borneo joined them, with auxiliaries from Ternate and Bouton. With this triple alliance at his command, Spielman dictated terms to the Goan king, who consented to pay about 560*l.* sterling, as reparation for the plunder of two wrecks off the coast, and payment of the cost of the expedition.[2] In the following year, however, this peace was broken by the efforts of the chief Krong-rong, who hated the Dutch and never slept easily under their influence. But his success was exhausted by the commencement of the new war, the Macassars were driven from their principal fort, and the king, abdicating in favour of his son, saw the country placed under the virtual authority of a hostile and a Christian power. This conquest sealed for the Dutch their monopoly of the spice trade.[3]

Formidable armament from Celebes.

Victory of the Dutch.

A. D. 1667.

Successes in Celebes.

A. D. 1668.

A. D. 1669.

[1] Crawfurd, ii. 435.

[2] Temminck, *Coup d'Œil sur l'Inde Archipélagique*, iii. 10.

[3] Crawfurd, ii. 443.

Lamadarama, chief of Boni, had been formerly taken prisoner by the Dutch. As an example of gratitude, pleasant to relate, they restored him to his kingdom, in reward of the aid his subjects had rendered to them.

A. D. 1672. Weary, however, of the dangerous elevation, he soon resigned the crown, and retired to the humbler honours of a private life.

Treaty with Sumbawa. Spielman now concluded the first treaty between the Dutch and the independent chiefs of Sumbawa. Four little states on the coast entered into it, mutual engagements were pledged, and privileges of trade acceded to the conquerors at Macassar.[1] The relations thus confirmed with Celebes, and established with Sumbawa, were broken with Benjarmassin. The English were accused of labouring to destroy the goodwill existing between the Dutch and the native court; but no such feeling had apparently existed from the earliest time. They prompted the sultan, it is reported, to consent to their expulsion, that the way might be clear to them.

The Nemesis of monopoly. Probably a liberal judgment on these transactions will confess that our countrymen were deeply involved in intrigues against the Dutch. The ethics of commerce, however, adopted by Holland justified such proceedings. Monopoly can claim no generous treatment of itself, which it denies to all others. The thrifty traders of Amsterdam would, had the power belonged to them, have shut every other nation from all the ports of the world, and intrigue alone could open the way they sought to close.

War in Achin. At Achin, about this period, while the Dutch were at war with the queen, and the city was blockaded, our countrymen ingratiated themselves by an act of friend-

[1] Temminck, *Coup d'Œil sur les Possessions Neerlandaises*, iii. 10.

ship. One of their vessels, laden with rice and cloth, arrived when the people were in great straits for hunger. A messenger was landed to bid the Achinese assemble by night at a certain place, when the ship would be run on shore with its supply of food. The plan succeeded, the city was relieved, and the queen, calling a council of the chiefs, declared the English friends, and granted them many privileges. Among others she decreed that the house of an English merchant should be a temple of sanctuary to poor debtors flying from pursuit. The judicious narrator of these transactions[1] proceeds to relate that this harmony existed until the queen's death in 1700, when one of the sacerdotal order became powerful in the councils of the state; "but in all my travels," naïvely he says, "I never found a civil government, with a priest at the head of it, prosper long: and so it fell out here." The concord was broken, and mutual good will at an end. The English, nevertheless, were at all times more welcome at Achin than the Dutch.

The English.

In the kingdom of Macassar, the people, patient and callous, submitted in silence to become vassals of the strange nation which had extinguished the independence of their country. A considerable number, however, of the more independent spirits, chafing under a tyranny they could not overthrow, resolved to fly and occupy some territory where they might, after their own fashion, be free. They embarked in numerous prahus, and setting sail by night, escaped the Dutch cruizers, and suddenly appeared on the coast of Madura, laying the whole island under contribution. Nor were they long without a leader, Truna Jaya, a prince of Celebes[2], or of Madura, according to another autho-

Revolt in Celebes.

Flight of the rebels to Java.

[1] Hamilton, *New Account of the East Indies*, ii. 103.

[2] Crawfurd, *History of Indian Archipelago*, ii. 530.

rity[1], joining the rebels, in defiance of the Dutch, and bringing with him a considerable body of adherents. Their united strength was now so great, and their ambition, inflated by success, so much greater, that despising the sovereignty of a little out-lying island, they resolved to cross the gulf-like branch of the sea, dividing it from Java, of which it originally, perhaps, formed a peninsula. They collected their forces, embarked, traversed the straits, and, landing on the opposite shore, spread their ravages through several extensive districts, subjecting many to their authority. To arrest their depredations the sultan threw an army, headed by a chief from the province of Japan, across their path; but they swept it before them, and rolled on in their desolating career.

A. D. 1673.

Their success.

Krong-rong.

A. D. 1674.

Probably the Dutch laid much of this to the account of Krong-rong, the wily patriot of Macassar, who never mitigated his hatred of their nation. To them he appeared a dangerous enemy, to be removed by any means. A letter, written and sanctioned by the Honourable Council of the Indies, directed the seizure, if not assassination, of himself and his family. Whether from fear, from neglect, or from compunction, the order was disobeyed. Krong-rong continued minister of Goa, which he governed under the nominal direction of the king; but when, on the death of that petty sovereign, another succeeded him, affairs preserved exactly their old tenor; for while the wuzeer lived no matter what kings died, for he was the presiding power in the state, subject to the Netherlands East India Company. To interpose a barrier of territory between his old dominions and the rest of the island, the Dutch assisted the Macassar chief to conquer the contiguous province of Mandar. His

Policy of the Dutch in Macassar.

[1] Temminck, *Coup d'Œil sur l'Inde Archipélagique.*

kingdom, lying along the upper shores of the great bay of Boni, and Mandar connecting the straits to the east of Borneo, there was thus a broad belt of conquered land between Goa Macassar, its tributary the state of Sopeng, and the territories of the independent communities of Celebes. Their authority was now recognised in that interesting island, which here claims a descriptive sketch.

Their authority established.

Among the islands of the Asiatic Archipelago, Celebes, by its astonishing fertility, and the abundance of its natural productions, deserves particular distinction. Its beautiful climate, uncorrupted by the deadly miasma which pollutes the air in many tropical countries, restores to health the constitution impaired by a residence on the marshy plains of the less elevated regions of India. There exist, along the coast, no wide deltas, periodically flooded, fertile, but ungenial, such as are met with in Sumatra and Borneo. The impenetrable masses of jungle every where abounding in the one and still remaining in the other of these islands, are unknown in Celebes. Its surface wears a more European aspect, presenting near the coast broad plains covered with vegetation, and ascending gradually to the woody hills of the interior.[1]

Celebes.

Riches.

Climate.

Causes of its salubrity.

General aspect.

Celebes occupies the centre of the tropical zone, and lies in the Molucca sea. Its length and breadth it is difficult to estimate, being composed of four peninsulas, with an area of about 3578 miles.[2] Its coast presents a great number of bays, gulfs, and capes of eccentric outline. Three deep arms of the sea penetrate it from east to west, and the four gigantic tongues of land, united at the centre by an inconsiderable mass, give the island its peculiar shape. The southern peninsula was

Position.

Configuration.

[1] Temminck, *Coup d'Œil sur l'Inde Neerlandaises*, iii. 8.

[2] Melville de Carnbee, *Moniteur des Indes Orientales.*

once supposed to be a separate island, abounding in riches, whose woods at night were illumined by swarms of the fire-fly, imparting to them a magical beauty.[1] The western and northern coasts are bold, with few reefs[2]; but along the other shores shoals and formations of coral are spread in patches, some hidden, some appearing above water.[3] The surface is lofty, with considerable hills, and towards the north several volcanoes remain active to this day. Some of the mountains rise seven thousand feet above the level of the sea[4],—usually with round or flat tops,—the perfection of woodland scenery, no broken rugged peaks appearing to harden the outlines of the landscape.[5] The physical constitution of the island is basalt in decomposition, covered with a bed of soil, largely formed of volcanic detritus, from ten to twenty feet in depth. In the north continual tremblings of the earth have rent it into many chasms, and large quantities of sulphur have been thrown up. In each of the peninsulas distinct features would appear in a minute description; but where a sketch only can be afforded, the whole may in general terms be remarked upon, for the peculiar details are not visible in a superficial survey.

Surface.

Formation.

Though a mountainous island, Celebes presents along the borders of the sea wide plains covered with verdure and beautiful valleys, some of which enclose lakes more or less extensive. Nothing enhances the grace of a landscape more than a lake, and those of Celebes are distinguished by their beauty. Magnificent basins of limpid water, raised on a smooth plateau, encircled by a rim of low hills, tufted with palm-groves, or overlaid

Picturesque aspect.

Lakes.

[1] Heylyn, *Cosmography*, 920. [2] Darwin, *Coral Reefs*, 173.
[3] *Astrol. Voyage Hydrog.* 453-4.
[4] Temminck, *Coup d'Œil sur les Possessions Neerlandaises*, iii. 81.
[5] Brooke, Mundy, *Borneo and Celebes.*

with soft sward, glitter under the sun of the East, and glow like vast sheets of silver.[1] They are often spangled with the pearl-white flowers, and the deep green leaves of the water-lily, with other aquatic plants of splendid bloom. Water fowl of many species, some with crimson and purple crests, inhabit the lakes, and birds construct their nests on the floating fields of vegetation.[2] The scenery of the island becomes wilder as you leave the sea. Shallow, but beautiful, streams intersect the long sloping plains, springs of sweet water trickle between the rocks, which are scattered, confused with green knolls, or thickets of flowering shrubs.

Water lilies.

Streams.

Thick forests cover the hills and large tracts of the level country. Oaks, maples, sycamores, cedars, teak-trees, the upas, and numerous others inhabit them. The woods, however, have in many parts of the interior been cleared away, and the bright tints of the cultivated ground, the cool, refreshing rice fields, contrast strongly with the dark old drapery of nature, still thrown over extensive tracts[3], unvisited by industry and enlivened only by rivers, breaking into magnificent cascades.[4]

Forests.

Celebes is less populous, in proportion to its extent, than many other islands of the Archipelago. It may indeed be true that, since the accession of the Dutch to power, it has declined from its original condition.[5] The population, at all events, does not at present appear to exceed 1,104,000.[6] It is composed of the aboriginal Alfoeras, and of nomade or commercial Malays, pro-

Population.

[1] Temminck, *Coup d'Œil sur l'Inde Archipélagique*, iii. 82.
[2] Brooke, *Journal, Borneo and Celebes.* Mundy, i. 104.
[3] Belcher, *Voyage of the Samarang*, i. 123.
[4] Brooke, *Journal, Voyage of the Dido.* Keppel, i. 111.
[5] Raffles, *Life and Journals.* By his widow.
[6] Temminck, *Coup d'Œil sur les Possessions Neerlandaises*, iii. 5.

bably from their seat of empire in Sumatra, who have in Celebes, as in other islands, established themselves on the sea border, and driven the old tenants of the soil into the central wilderness.[1] The southern peninsula, or Macassar country, was probably first invaded. Only a small remnant, indeed, of the aborigines have escaped the sword of a foreign race, and scarcely any have preserved their manners untainted or unmodified, in some degree, by the strange civilisation introduced into the island.[2]

The Bugis.

The Bugis[3], originally from the same stock as the Malays[4], are superior to all other natives of the Archipelago, in their spirit of adventure.[5] They are a brave, active, haughty, fierce, and vigorous race.[6] They love justice, and are faithful to their bonds, but seldom forgive injuries.[7] Boastful indeed they are, and bullies[8]; but these qualities are far more admirable than the humility and meekness of slaves. The Macassars form the flower of the colonial troops in the Dutch service; they are bold hunters, and, mounted on their brisk little horses, drive the deer through the woods, and capture it with a lasso.[9]

The Alfoeras.

The Alfoeras, described in old accounts as a tall, comely race, of brown colour, much given to piracy[10], form perhaps the most amiable, if not the most civilised, part of the population. They possess all

[1] No traces of the Hindu power have been discovered here. Heeren, *Asiatic Nations*, ii. 90. Raffles, ii. 281.

[2] Temminck, *Coup d'Œil sur les Possessions Neerlandaises*, iii. 84.

[3] See Pritchard, *Phys. Hist. Mankind*, i. 452.

[4] Brooke, *Journals*, *Borneo and Celebes*. Mundy, i. 43.

[5] Raffles, *Memoirs*, i. 67. 264.

[6] Temminck, *Coup d'Œil sur les Possessions Neerlandaises*, iii. 85.

[7] Hogendorp, *Coup d'Œil sur Java*.

[8] Brooke, *Journals*, *Borneo and Celebes*. Mundy, i. 82.

[9] Temminck, *Coup d'Œil sur les Possessions Neerlandaises*, iii. 87.

[10] Heylyn, *Cosmography*, 919.

the courage, and few of the vices prevailing among the Bugis and Malays. Some of these tribes are among the most singular communities in the world.[1] The ingenuity of the savage, and the amenity of the civilised man, appear united in them. They have received the Koran, but not abjured the practices of their ancient faith—the dark old idolatry once universal in the Archipelago. Stones and trees, painted red, still share their devotions with the invisible god of Islam.[2] Women are treated honourably among them—a distinction in their manners not yet effaced by the Mohammedan social law.[3] The Arabs, indeed, have visited the island, and exercised considerable influence upon its people, leaving us the traces of their former sway, buildings of elegant architecture,—probably the tombs of religious chiefs.[4] The Chinese also have settled at the various towns, bringing with them their characteristics as a race refusing to be obedient to any master, yet incapable of living without one.

Religious beliefs.

The natural wealth of Celebes is diversified and abundant. Besides timber and other trees noticed in its forests, palms of various species, ebony, odoriferous sandal, dyewoods, areca, banyan, and bamboos often forty feet high and three in diameter, are found; with sago, which is in many provinces the chief food of the people.[5] Pepper, the flavour of which was formerly increased by that of ginger, which is a favourite article of consumption with the natives[6], wild nutmegs and cloves

Productions of Celebes. Woods.

[1] They have been the greatest colonists as well as the principal traders of the Archipelago. — Raffles, *Memoirs*, i. 263.

[2] Brooke, *Journals, Borneo and Celebes.* Mundy, i. 114.

[3] Temminck, *Coup d'Œil sur les Possessions Neerlandaises*, iii. 86.

[4] Brooke, *Journals, Borneo and Celebes.* Mundy, i. 61.

[5] Temminck, *Coup d'Œil sur les Possessions Neerlandaises*, iii. 107.

[6] Valmont de Bomare, *Histoire Naturelle*, iii. 62.

Commercial resources.

of a peculiar species, the almond whence the true oil of Macassar is extracted, coffee, rice of three species, maize, indigo, tobacco, sugar-canes, manioc, palm sugar, and cotton, are among the productions. Junk sails, cables of braided rattan, wooden anchors [1], and other manufactures, are offered to the traders from China and the neighbouring islands. Wild bees' wax, tortoiseshell, and rattans furnish also materials of commerce.

Fruits.

Fruits of the richest kinds, from the guava to the wild raspberry and the grape [2], there are in Celebes.

Flowers.

Its Flora is magnificent, but imperfectly known.

Minerals.

Many provinces are rich in mines of gold, where the metal exists in flakes or the granular form. Copper, used in the manufacture of vessels to preserve articles of luxury, tin inferior to that of Borneo, and iron, are abundant. From the steel prepared by the natives, mixed with a metal little known to Europeans, sword-blades beautifully damasceened, with keen edge and brilliant polish, are manufactured. Crystal is found in large masses among the hills.

Animals.

Few wild beasts exist in Celebes, but several curious species of the monkey tribe, the hog-deer, a singular brute, cats, and others of inferior order. Its horses are much esteemed, and exported to Java, India, and the Mauritius. In the rivers crocodiles may occasionally be seen, and in the sea near the coast swarms of fish afford subsistence and employment to the numerous hardy tribes.[3] Birds, with their bright coats variegated by every colour, congregate in vast numbers in the woods; but, as in the other divisions of the animal creation, the history of nature in Celebes is still

[1] Woodward, *Voyage from Boston to East Indies*, M.S.

[2] Brooke, *Journal, Borneo and Celebes.* Mundy.

[3] See the learned contribution of Dr. Bleeker, *On the Icthyological Fauna. J. I. Arch.* iii. 65.

little more than a collection of fragments.[1] Pasturage of the finest description abounds, and immense herds of cattle might be fattened, especially on the hills, slopes, and plains of Boni.[2] Clearly, such a region was a magnificent province added to the empire of any nation. Monopoly, however, is a poor provider. It grasps at all, acquiring little; but is content in its selfish isolations to stand alone and reap harvests from a desert.

War in the Spice group concluded.

The war in the Moluccas, long-protracted and destructive, was now brought to a close. The brave tribes of the islands, refusing to submit, had flung their wasted valour to the air, and vainly spent their blood in an access of resolution uninspired by hope. It was not their rancour that was conciliated, nor the harshness of their enemies that was mollified. The strength of both was exhausted. In the language of Tacitus, they had made a solitude, and called it peace.

Dutch wars.

The most exciting period in the history of Dutch progress has now arrived. Chapter after chapter of the narrative will open upon war, continually renewed.

Their policy.

If the natural train of events led them into these struggles, their ambition induced them to prolong the course, which bore them forward in their career of victory.

European affairs.

The politics of Europe, complicated beyond solution, involved the United Provinces in a desperate struggle for existence. Louis XIV., styled Great in spite of his crimes and follies, aimed at conquering the old dependencies of Spain, and adding them to the dominions already suffering under the rule of him and his unprincipled ministers. England and Holland, at war between themselves, made peace and allied with the arms of Sweden to repel this invasion, and prevent the

[1] Temminck, *Coup d'Œil sur les Possessions Neerlandaises*, iii.106.
[2] Brooke, *Journal, Voyage of the Dido.* Keppel, i. 118.

future preponderance of France in the political transactions of Christendom. France, however, was powerful in spite of her king, and threatened to destroy the young republic, which the spirit of liberty had created from a province of Spain. Many of the people were dismayed; but vigorous statesmen animated their councils, and a grand display of patriotic virtue called in the elements to aid in defending the state. William of Nassau, inspired by chivalric resolution, collected the senators of the republic, and told them to lose no heart or hope. "The Hollanders might survive Holland."[1] They might fly to the remotest islands of Asia. They might launch all their shipping, and embark at once 200,000 emigrants, to lay the foundations of a free state in the East, where liberty and religion might together flourish on the soil of Java, or the Nutmeg Isles. The people rose to their task. The dikes were opened. They gave back to the waves the crowded country, the cultivated fields, the gardens, the roads, the bridges, and the populous tracts, which had been conquered from the sea by the victorious industry of Holland. The heart of the nation swelled. They prepared to fly to the furthest parts of the East, rather than surrender their freedom, or their faith to the enemy of both, who saw the dawn of political liberty for Europe in the rising light of the Reformation.[2]

Patriotism of the Dutch.

Threatened invasion of Holland.

The magnificent project was never realised; for the French king, conquered as much by his own low passions as by the courage of his enemies, deserted the campaign, and retreated to his paradise of luxury and lust in the heart of France.[3] Nevertheless, Holland learned from that sudden visitation of danger to pursue more vigo-

Retreat of the French king.

[1] Macaulay, *History of England*, i. 218. [2] Ibid.
[3] St. Simon, *Mémoires Secrets du Règne de Louis XIV.*

rously her plans of ambition in the East. No one who contemplates the noble picture of her armament against the invasion of the Roman Catholic king, can fail to admire the spirit which encouraged it; and no one who bears in mind the character of Dutch politics in the Indian Archipelago, can fail to regret that they were not equally full of honour. There is much justice in the remark that, with a national character for probity at home, they have been a selfish, cold-blooded, phlegmatic race abroad, changing their nature with the soil they inhabited.[1] Nor was their policy more wise than principled. This commencement of their grand career of progress is described by a learned writer, as the dawn of that period which consummated their ruin, brought humuliation on the natives, and general destruction on the trade of the islands.[2] It is, indeed, true that they were at this period led into a labyrinth of contests, from which they did not escape without irreparable injury to themselves, and incalculable loss to the native states.

Character of the Dutch.

Their colonial policy.

Java, already overrun by one invader, was visited by another from Celebes, who freely pursued the track of his predecessor. Truna Jaya meanwhile was multiplying his successes. The sultan of Mataram feared his approach. He applied for aid to his old enemies at Batavia. They, seldom unwilling to establish a claim upon the princes of the island, marched a force from Japan to his succour, but took no share in a battle which ensued at Pamruhan. The Javans consequently were defeated, and scattered in tumultous retreat, by the ardent courage of the Celebes fugitives under Truna Jaya. To obliterate this disgrace, the heir apparent of Mataram put himself at the head of

A. D. 1675. New invasion of Java.

[1] Walter Scott, *Preface to Dryden's "Amboyna."*

[2] Crawfurd, *History of Indian Archipelago*, ii. 431.

Defeat of the Dutch.

another army, which sailed round the eastern coast in war prahus. It landed near Surabaya, and though slightly assisted by the Dutch, was wholly overthrown. The defeated troops fled to their vessels, and hastily took to sea; but the Macassars, rushing to the beach, cast loose their war boats, put off, pursued the flying squadron, sunk or destroyed many of the Javan galleys, and returned loaded with the trophies of a double success. Truna Jaya, in the full flush of triumph, assumed the insignia of sovereignty, and marched a large force to the provinces on the coast of Mataram.

Success of the invaders.

These he conquered, and thus possessed of the frontier, poured his Macassar legions over it, and advanced upon the capital of the most powerful state in the island. The Sultan fled with his family westward towards Tugal, but died on the way. He was succeeded by his eldest son, who styled himself Sultan Mangkorat, and proclaimed his authority over territories now held by an invader. Nor were the Madurese or the Macassars his only enemies. His claim to the throne was disputed by the Pangeran Pugar, a younger brother, who gave battle to Truna Jaya's army, defeated it, and declared himself Sultan of Mataram. Relying little on his own resources the legitimate Sultan Mangkorat solicited the alliance of the Dutch, and marching in their company, took up at Japan a position whence he might issue his forces for the recovery of his lost inheritance.[1]

Confederacy to resist them.

Preparations for conquest.

The policy of the Dutch at the commencement of this war, set them on the road to general conquest in Java. They had taken part with one faction against another, and must now throw into the scale all the weight of their power.[2] Not only was there honour

[1] Raffles, *History*, ii. 177.

[2] Crawfurd, ii. 419.

pledged; but their existence depended on the issue. Hence nothing could result but the absorption of the native authority in their own. It is futile to regret this. The principles of decay appear to have generated themselves in all Asiatic states. From one frontier of Asia to the other, a blight has struck them, and the idea of their regeneration seems an idle dream. It may, perhaps, be premature to announce among the provisions of the future, a universal dissolution of Eastern monarchies; but events appear to lead in that direction. All we have to alloy our satisfaction is the plan on which the Dutch based their policy.

Right of conquest.

Their relations with Celebes, rendered peaceful by concessions to the Macassar king and the restoration of quiet in the Moluccas, allowed Admiral Spielman to sail with his squadron to Java. His operation was against the foreign invaders, and before the close of the year he captured Surabaya, from the hands of its Macassar conquerors.

Affairs in Celebes.

As a reward for this service, and an encouragement to contiuue their aid, the Sultan Mangkorat, in February 1677, granted the Dutch great commercial privileges.[1]

A. D. 1676.

They sold their friendship at a heavy price. By a new bond dated October 1677, confirming a previous grant of privileges, Sultan Mangkorat also bound himself to terms of tribute. He owned to a debt of 30,000 dollars, and 3000 koyans of rice — 6000 tons — and mortgaged the liability on all the sea-ports from the river Krawang to the uttermost East of Java. The whole revenue, and the rice-tribute of those places, were to go towards paying off the debt. The Dutch also stipulated for further concessions and

A. D. 1677. Policy of alliances.

Tribute from the native prince.

[1] Raffles, *History of Java*, ii. 179.

immunities.[1] At Bantam also, similar conventions were ratified; and by each of these the influence of Holland wound its elastic coil round some native state.

Stipulations with allies.

Their engagements to the king, in return were curious. They should sell their assistance to him for its worth in money; they should not leave their factory at night; they should not walk outside the fortifications, without permission from the prince and his friend the British Resident; they should enter the native houses, or remain in them at night; they should not plunder the Javanese; they should never trespass in temple, dwelling, or garden; they should not detain women in their houses, or way-lay them in the streets; they should pay due courtesy to the Court; they should turn aside their eyes when the Sultana or the Sultan bathed in the river; and should not interfere in the domestic disputes of the people. Bound only by these light ties, exacting only common honesty and respect to the native customs, they might enjoy their privileges, and receive for a fixed price the whole produce of black and white pepper in Bantam.

Ryklof van Kloen.

Though involved in the confusion the Javan war, the Hollanders continued to engage in the politics of other islands, which perhaps delayed the catastrophe of

A. D. 1678.

this destructive campaign. In 1678, Ryklof van Kloen was governor-general of the Netherlands' East Indies. He pursued vigorously the war which had already lasted three years. His forces uniting with those of the sultan, who continued to grant privileges of trade and territorial rights[2], assaulted Kadiri where Truna Jaya held his court with great splendour, captured it, drove the ambitious invader to the woods, and enriched his army with immense plunder. In the

[1] Raffles, *History of Java*, ii. 198, 199.

[2] Ibid. 199.

following year Truna Jaya ended his adventurous career; whether by the Dutch, or whether by a native chief he was induced to make submission, and enter the sultan's audience-hall as a suppliant. The room was crowded with European and Javan chiefs. The culprit, attired in a criminal's costume, wearing no kris, and bending humbly, approached the throne. Imploring forgiveness, he heard the pardon graciously accorded. "It is well, Truna Jaya. For this time I forgive you, go forth and clothe yourself with becoming apparel. Then return to me, when I will present you with a kris, and install you as my minister, in the presence of all assembled."

Close of the war. A.D. 1679.

Tragedy in an Indian palace.

The chief obeyed, and returned delighted to receive honour where had looked for punishment. As he drew near, the king desired a woman to bring him a naked kris. With this weapon in his hand, he addressed his fallen enemy. "Know, Truna Jaya, that I have given my word that I would never sheathe this kris, except in your body. Receive now your death from it, in punishment of your offence." In a moment he plunged the blade into the rebel's breast. His followers completed the assassination; they hewed into pieces the body of the unfortunate chief, struck off the head, "rolled it in the mud, and made a mat of it."[1]

Malay treachery.

The island of Madura, thus wrested from the hands of its conqueror was bestowed, its western portion on Chakra Ningrat, and its eastern on Machan Nulan — chiefs in the Sultan's favour. In this year also, the Dutch quenched the struggling spirit of independence in the Moluccas; — the people rose in an access of generous passion, struck a last blow for their island homes, and

A.D. 1680. Revolt in the Moluccas.

[1] Raffles, *History of Java*, ii. 187.

then sank under the commercial and military tyranny which has oppressed them ever since.[1]

Continued war in Java.

Prince Pugar remained a formidable enemy to the authority of his elder brother. Other rebels also were in arms. The united forces of the Dutch and the sultan, however, routed them all. The peace of Java was ratified with blood, and the Sultan changing his seat of government to Kartasura towards the east, settled nearer to the city of Batavia. Powerful there as the revolted pangeran was, the double force of the allies was greater, and he yeilded himself to the mercy of his foe. He was thrown at once into captivity.

A. D. 1681.

Subduing one after another the rebels who disturbed Java, the Dutch further to secure its pacification, induced the Sultan of Cheribon to accept their protection. With more confidence than wisdom he received the boon, though an illustration of its value occurred at the same time. The king of Ternate, an old ally of Holland, charged with fomenting a new war in the Moluccas, was brought prisoner to Batavia.

Progress of Dutch power.

Cornelius Spielman, admiral of the fleet, promoted to be governor-general of the Netherlands' East Indies, hurried his countrymen in the course of policy, which involved them so deeply in troubles. They had successfully terminated the war of succession in Mataram, and might now have remained independent of native politics; but as every intervention spread their power, each engagement was followed by another, and Java yielded gradually to the rule of Holland.

Bantam, an extensive territory on the north-east of the island, possessed at this period a considerable trade. The English, with several Danish merchants, possessed factories in the capital. Their establishments flourished,

[1] Crawfurd, ii. 443.

and mutual advantages were derived by the natives and their visitors, from this friendly intercourse.

Politics of Bantam.

The reigning sultan of Bantam, when the age of sixty-three years rendered him in his own idea unfit for power, resigned, and placed the crown on the head of his eldest son, or rather relinquished to him a large share of the government. When the step had been taken, he saw with displeasure the policy of his successor, and regretted he had not chosen from among his other children, a more obedient heir. Even now he imagined it was not too late to recover the right of choice. He, therefore, set on foot a movement for the replacement of the young king by one of his brothers. The people and the chiefs of tribes viewed these proceedings with great favour. They had become somewhat attached to their hoary ruler; and as they could no longer be governed by him, at least conceded him the privilege of selecting his successor. They rose in arms. A numerous army thronged round his banners, and laid siege to Bantam.[1] By the English and Danish merchants his cause was espoused, though only by mediation. No men, no money, nor arms, were furnished by them, which is to be credited, says the historian[2], not because they assert it, but because it is probable from their weakness and poverty at that period.

A. D. 1683.

Fifty thousand men thronged to the old king's command. He called on his son to submit. The young prince had tasted power, and was unwilling to part with the dear possession. Dutch arms were called in to his aid, and his father, defeated, was carried in captivity to Batavia, where he lingered the remaining eight years of his life in a prison.

Confirmed in his authority, the young prince expelled

[1] Crawfurd, ii. 420. [2] Marsden, *History of Sumatra*, 350.

with insolence from Bantam, those English and Danish merchants who had favoured his father's cause. The Dutch force occupied their factories, and our countrymen, forced to embark, were conveyed to Batavia, whence, in the following year, they departed for Surat.[1]

Supremacy of Holland.

From that time the influence of Holland remained without a rival in Java.[2] From the grateful prince her traders received large privileges of commerce, the exclusive trade in pepper, and the sale of cotton fabrics throughout his kingdom. They built a fort, regulated their affairs, and assumed a considerable part in the government of Bantam.

Conspiracy in Java.

In the first year of their installation in this country, Sheikh Yusuf, a Balinese slave, who could not always have been a bondsman, raised a rebellion; but being captured, was sent an exile to the Cape of Good Hope — then a station for the political convicts of Holland. His errors, perhaps, served to guide his successor in revolt.

Story of Untung.

Untung, a native of Bali, was the slave of a Dutch citizen at Batavia. He is described as a man of rare endowments, who had been kidnapped in his own island, and sold at the capital of the Netherlands' Indies. His life was one of suffering and hardship, caused by the inhumanity of his master. The burgher had risen to wealth and eminence through his assistance, and was once fond of him; but discovering an intimacy between his natural daughter and his slave, beat him severely, and caused him to be exposed in the public stocks.[3] Untung, who had aided his master so well, was able to help himself, and conceived the idea of revolt. He escaped from durance, released his fellow prisoners, and

[1] Raffles, *History*, Int., i. 22. [2] Bruce, ii. 492.
[3] Crawfurd, *History of Indian Archipelago*, ii. 346.

assisted in the massacre of the platoon which came to mount guard at daylight. He then fled to the mountains, and seeing around him anarchy, misery, and misrule—the proper materials for a rebel, prepared a desperate enterprise. A party of insurgents from Bantam soon joined him in his retreat. They had elected as their leader, and declared as the sovereign of the country, a son of the late king, and one of two brothers, Purbaya, joined a rebel named Aladdin, who had collected 2000 men, proceeded towards Mataram, kindling insurrection as they went, and preparing to seduce the sultan into a contest with his white allies. Aladdin fought in battle and escaped. They saw that force could not soon subdue him. Craft was a more characteristic weapon. His rebellions.

They sent an officer versed in Arabic and Malay, in an Arabian disguise, to tempt the rebel into surrender. This man, cunning and skilful, presented himself to Aladdin as a friendly counsellor, relating what kindness he had experienced when in captivity among the Hollanders. He would advise his friend, he said, to capitulate and trust in their mercy. His counsel was accepted. Aladdin, allured by the delusive hope of pardon, was taken to Batavia, and thence transported as a felon, to linger out the long winter of his days at the Cape of Good Hope.

Untung flourished in his rebellious career. He assumed the name of Sir Santana, and while Purbaya was encamped near at hand, his body of fugitive slaves was surprised by a Dutch force. The capture of Purbaya was, however, the first object of the Hollanders. To lull him into confidence, therefore, they left the other insurgents unmolested, and behaved with courtesy to their leader. The pangeran had promised already to submit. An officer with several followers approached Progress of his arms. Parley with the rebels.

him. He had prepared the sign of surrender, according to the custom of his country, by tying up his spears in a bundle, and wearing only the kris, which among the Indian tribes, is frequently allowed to be worn by chiefs, even at the place of execution. But the phlegmatic official, ignorant and careless, demanded this weapon, and the personal ornaments of Purbaya. "Was it not shame enough" that rebel asked, "that he and his tribe voluntarily disarmed?" Santana mediated, advising a compromise; but the Dutchman standing on his dignity, claimed the literal performance of his orders. Promising to comply next morning, the pangeran escaped in the night. The military diplomatist, in his irritation, insulted Santana, quarrelled with him, provoked an armed struggle, and barely escaped leaving many men dead on the ground.

Craft of Javan warfare.

The rebel slave now went to Cheribon, whose chief, in consequence of some intrigues, was slain by the sultan of Mataram, and his title of Surapati, or general, conferred upon Santana.[1] Marching towards Kartasura, the able adventurer found means still further to open for himself new avenues to favour. At a particular place he left a number of his people under two chiefs, who were directed to rebel, and throw the country into confusion. On reaching the capital, he found it alarmed by this tumult of his own creation. He offered to suppress the revolt. His aid was accepted. He proceeded to the scene of his plot, caused the rebels to disperse, and beheaded the two officers who had strictly obeyed his commands. Their heads he brought to Kartasura; and by this bloody witness of his faith, attested himself worthy of the monarch's favour. The achievement at once elevated him to a high place in the sultan's confidence.

[1] Crawfurd, ii. 346.

The Dutch demanded the surrender of Surapati. The sultan, notwithstanding his alliance, pleaded the privilege of hospitality, and refused it, bidding them enter his territory, to arrest the rebel themselves, which they were at liberty to do. They sent to perform this task, 400 Europeans, and 600 Javans, headed by Tak, an officer strongly suspected to have stolen the great jewel which formerly glowed in the front of the Mojopahit crown. This, it is said, determined the prince on his destruction.[1]

The crown jewels of Java.

Surapati at once commenced the organisation of a force. He was determined to prosecute war to the knife with his enemies; and all that part of Java was disturbed by preparations for the approaching struggle. The Dutch, however, continued to multiply their trading privileges at Bantam.[2]

Maintaining the plan of narrative pursued up to this date, it is necessary to leave for a moment the politics of Java, to follow the course of time, and notice other transactions which here enter the chronology of the Archipelago. In 1684, the English, though now established on the continent of India, renewed their efforts to trade with the neighbouring islands. They sent an embassy from Madras to Achin, soliciting leave to erect a fort. The queen refused, saying, that if they filled her palace with gold, they should not build a house of brick within the limits of her dominion. The chiefs declared it was contrary to law even for the queen to fortify herself, lest the country should be enslaved by some foreign power. The culture of the land, they said, had been neglected, because the people were once universally licensed to search for gold, so that they might trade; but this edict had been repealed,

A. D. 1684.

The English in Sumatra.

[1] Raffles, *History of Java*, ii. 192.

[2] Raffles, ii. 200, 201.

and the soil was again richly cultivated. Permission, indeed, was given for a timber-built factory; but even this was clandestine, since the Dutch jealousy was feared.[1] Achin had been long in the declension of its greatness. Its own weakness, acted on by the rising power of Holland, contributed to shrink its territory; and a kingdom which had been a formidable enemy to the Portuguese, was held in awe by the Council of Batavia.

The modified severity of female rule had rendered the people favourable to it. They refused to admit a king. The chiefs, who flourished better under a master than a mistress, opposed their desires. Civil war ensued: two armies met,—one the hirelings of the patrician order; the other, the people armed to assert their natural right of choosing their own rulers. The belligerents encamped on each bank of a river. The termination of the contest is remarkable in Asiatic, or, indeed, in any history. The nobles saw the folly of resistance, the people's wishes were granted, and it was passed into law, that their governor should be a queen, a maiden, and beyond a certain age.[2]

Public opinion in an Indian state.

A. D. 1685. Settlement at Bencoolen.

The English settled also at Bencoolen, in the same island, and continued their establishment at Indrapura, which, however, never flourished. Captain Cowley at this period made his voyage round the globe; but, in the Indian Archipelago, assumed the Spanish flag, especially at Brunè, where that nation had made a treaty of perpetual peace.[3]

[1] Marsden, *History of Sumatra*, 368.
[2] Ibid. Mr. Crawfurd speaks of a king at this period.
[3] Cowley, *Voyage round the Globe*, 24.

CHAPTER XIV.

A. D. 1686. Progress of the Dutch.

Tak, the Dutch commander, hastened his march on Kartasura. There an intricate combination of craft was prepared to entangle him. The Susunan, by a clever scheme, assumed the appearance of hatred and dread of Surapati, who, on his part, pretended to conquer two chiefs of Mataram, and threaten the capital itself. His troops, now disciplined, were clothed in white costumes, and it was agreed they should fall back on the onslaught of the Dutch. A corps of men, attired in clothes of the same colour, should sally forth to their assistance. All was carried out on this plan. Surapati, repulsed, commenced a retreat, but the white-robed reinforcement rallied his troops, and the enemy, checked in their headlong onset, were cut to pieces, or dispersed, with the loss of several hundred men. Tak was found dead, pierced in the neck by a celebrated spear, hurled by the leader of the Javan troops. The few who survived escaped to Japara, where they had a fort.[1]

Success of the rebels.

A. D. 1687.

The friendly host of the rebel, though careful to preserve the secret of his policy, rejoiced in the humiliation of the Dutch. Not only did Surapati escape this attempt upon his life, but he daily increased in power, until in the next year he retreated to the east end of Java to establish a kingdom for himself, where he might throw defiance in the face of all his enemies. The Susunan sustained the character he had assumed. He parted, the friend of Surapati; but the successful

[1] Raffles, *History of Java*, ii. 193.

rebel, hastening in a mock flight towards his projected seat of authority, was followed by the troops of two chiefs, who laid waste the country in his track, and acted all the forms of a vigorous pursuit.[1]

Politics of Java.

The Susunan corresponded with the Dutch and with the Surapati at the same time; exchanging presents with them, while he aided him. If they perceived the hollowness of his faith, they found it convenient to pass it by, for their arms were fully occupied against other powers.

The young prince of Bantam, whom they had raised to the throne, now maintained Succadana, near Sarawak, in Borneo, to be dependent on his kingdom; and, as the people resisted, solicited the aid of his new friends. The Dutch acted then as they usually acted. They made the cause of an ally the shield of their own ambition, and under cover of it attacked Succadana, conquered the whole district, and made prisoners of some English settlers. Thenceforward they alone were influential in the country, while their weaker rivals were content to receive the insult.

English settlements in the Islands.

The conduct of the English in Sumatra represents the general tone of their policy among the Oriental islands. Some chiefs of Priamam and other provinces on the Western coast were at Achin, endeavouring to persuade its sovereign to shelter them against Dutch encroachments. The visit of the English suggested to them an alliance with a more formidable power. They solicited our countrymen to settle among them, promising to grant a site for the erection of a fort, and free trade in pepper. So great was their desire not to lose the opportunity of this alliance, that they sailed with the envoys to Madras, and signed a convention with its

[1] Crawfurd, *Indian Archipelago*, ii. 347.

government. A squadron was prepared; but just before it sailed, a mission arrived from Bencoolen inviting the English to establish themselves more firmly in that district, known to be the great magazine of pepper, whence Bantam drew its supplies. The winds, at that season, early in the year, blew fair for Bencoolen, and our countrymen were easily induced to make it the first point of their attention. In June, a settlement was planted, and the vessels ranged the coast upwards to Indrapura, where three Englishmen tenanted a factory formerly erected there by a private adventurer.

While here, news came that the Dutch, who along the whole coast used their utmost influence to obstruct our progress, had forestalled us at Priamam. It had already been reported abroad that this port was the entrepôt of English commerce on the shores of Sumatra, and the sails of many trading ships were bent to the new emporium. But the activity of Holland shut them out, though the English settled at Manduta; while at Bantung Capas the people were incited to expel them.

At ceaseless war among themselves, the native powers had no example of harmony in the conduct of Europeans. The Dutch, settled near the factories of the English, taught the people to distrust them [1], encouraged them to refuse provisions, and sought to cut off the supplies by sea and land. In opposition, however, to their influence, the English factory at Bencoolen assumed a respectable stability.

Nor was there a stronger contrast presented in the history of the Archipelago, than in the treatment by the English of the Chinese colonists, with that of the

[1] The mutual rancour of the two nations was then extravagant. Lord Shaftesbury, in 1692, during a debate, in which he urged a war, said, that "the States of Holland were England's eternal enemy, both by interest and inclination."

A. D. 1689. Spaniards and the Dutch. At Bencoolen, the most public encouragement was given to their settlement, and from 1689 forward, they multiplied, rapidly increasing in wealth and influence, and contributing to the prosperity of their protectors as well as to their own. At Salebar and other places on the southern coast, where the council of Batavia sought to rule in the name of the Bantam king, their factors were expelled, and the pepper harvests were gathered for the English. In the course of a few years numerous other settlements were made, and the London Company received its reward.

Ten years of Indian history.

A. D. 1691.
A. D. 1694.
A. D. 1696.
A. D. 1697.

The history of the succeeding ten years presents only a series of little occurrences, too minute to require ample detail. An insurrection in Amboyna, another in the Ladrones, a new mission from Madras to Achin, a massacre at Balambangan, a petty English war in Sumatra, produced by an interference in native affairs, a settlement of them in Banjarmassin[1], and a visit to Kottaring in Borneo[2], with the perpetual wars of the island powers, caused then sufficient tumult in the Archipelago, but deserve not the distinction of extended notice.

A. D. 1699. Surapati's career.

Meanwhile, Surapati continued in his reckless career of ambition. Successful in most instances, he received a check in an attempt to conquer the province of Prorongo in Java; but his victories were not yet ended, and he maintained himself against his European enemies with astonishing vigour and ability. The Dutch, indeed, were distracted by the wide extent of

A. D. 1701.

their operations. In 1701, a disaster overtook them in Sumatra. They had elected a prince in Indrapura, but

[1] Not till 1702, according to Logan, *Journ. Ind. Arch.* ii. 508.
[2] Valentyn, iii. 248.

quarrelling with his patrons, he cut off every white man in his territory.

In 1702, we find the English drawing the sword in defence of their commerce against the aggressions of a native prince. The queen of Achin had been succeeded by a king, who this year abdicated, and was succeeded by Pedkara Alum. He had allowed English vessels to trade freely at the port; but the new sovereign, desirous of filling his private coffers, attempted to levy universal, though perhaps not extravagant, duties on them. The settlers forthwith took up arms. Their ships in port opened the war with a violence not justifiable, battered the villages at the mouth of the river, and blockaded the harbour, which severely distressed the people, who usually depended for supplies of provisions by sea. The whole population rose, and clamoured for a repeal of the decree. They had enjoyed the benefits of commerce with the strangers, and were not now willing to relinquish them. Their attitude at once awed the king into a recall of his obnoxious enactment.[1] Thus, at the dawn of the eighteenth century, in the remoteness of insular Asia, there existed in a barbarian kingdom a public opinion of force equal to compel a sovereign to reverse his policy in consideration of the wishes and the welfare of his subjects.

A. D. 1702.

Free trade in Achin.

Force of public opinion.

In the year following the Susunan Mangkorat died. He was in no favour with the Dutch. He had sheltered the rebel Surapati, and on that account incurred their bitter displeasure. Events had induced them, during his reign, not to seek redress by force of arms. When he expired, however, and his successor, Pangeran Dipati Anom, sent envoys to Batavia with the announcement of his accession, they resolved to call the son to a heavy

A. D. 1703. Death of the Susunan in Java.

[1] Marsden, *History of Sumatra*, 372.

A. D. 1704. account for the policy of his father. Jan Von Hoorn became governor-general. His predecessor had aided Mangkorat against prince Pugar, and he determined to aid prince Pugar against Mangkorat's successor.[1] The prince was driven to this new revolt by the insulting conduct of his brother's son.

His ambition was eager, and the treatment he received inflamed it. The Susunan had seized him, his wife and children, and exposed them before an assembly of the people. He had also dishonoured the wife of the chief of Madura, becoming enamoured of her at a feast given, in accordance with custom, on the hundredth day after the death of the old king, to speed his journey to the happy halls of Paradise. The husband, in revenge of her shame, allied himself with the pangeran of Samarang, to declare prince Pugar king.[2]

Mangkorat Mas, the new Susunan, hearing of the rebel's flight to Samarang, sent directions to his commissioners there to demand that he should be expelled. The reply was, he had thrown himself on the protection of the Dutch, and the Susunan might come himself to fetch him. Enraged, the monarch resolved to exercise his fury on the rebel's son, another aspirant to the throne. Brought into the royal presence, the young chief was about to be slain, when the volcanic mountain Merapi broke into tremendous eruption, with a sound like thunder, and a huge flame that glared over all Kartasura. It sounded as a warning to the Susunan, who sent his victim to prison, instead of immediately putting him to death. He afterwards once more ordered the execution, but, by a curious coincidence, the mountain, cleft by the violence of its first eruption, vomited fire and smoke so furiously that

Anecdote of Malay superstition.

[1] Crawfurd, ii. 354. [2] Raffles, ii. 207.

Mangkorat, not doubting it was a prodigy, received the youthful captive into favour, assigned him a title and an estate, and sought also to secure the good will of the chiefs of Madura, Samarang, and Surabaya by similar gifts.[1] His embassy to the Dutch in Batavia reached that city, it is said, at the same time with another from his enemy, and was admitted to an audience on the next day. Pugar accused Mangkorat Mas of tyranny over his own people, of designs against the Europeans, and of disrespect to them in the constitution of his mission, and the tone of his letter. They did not, however, at once refuse his request, requiring a fresh embassy, and waiting for a fleet to arrive from Holland with reinforcements.[2]

The new Susunan.

The pretender was then pompously but conditionally proclaimed at Samarang under the title of Susunan Pakubowono. The struggle that followed is known to history as the first war of Java. It opened a wide way to conquest, and at length its last fruits were displayed in the spread of the Netherlands' power over the length and breadth of the island.

First war of Java.

Before opening the campaign, they secured the reward of success, striving to elicit from Pakubowono a promise to cede to them, on his elevation to the throne, three rich provinces of his kingdom. He refused to sign a bond for more than the expenses of the war, and whenever he was inclined to yield before the pressure of solicitation, his counsellors revived his faint resolution. Once, however, when alone with the Dutch diplomatists, their commander burst into a warm expression of the pleasure it gave his countrymen to assist such a prince in such a manner. Then he added, "The Dutch are in great want of rice, and request your

Dutch methods of negotiation.

[1] Raffles, *History of Java*, ii. 205. [2] Ibid. 206.

Highness will have the kindness to grant them a thousand koyans—two thousand tons—a year without payment." Pakubawono was silent, meditating on the demand; but the Hollanders pressed about him with earnest thanks, and florid compliments for his ready concessions to their petition. Wishing as he did to remind them that he had made no promise, their panegyrical speeches shamed him from it, and he bowed his head without speaking. Quickly seizing the opportunity, they begged him to confirm his consent in writing. He drew out the document, sealed and delivered it, when more flowery expressions of gratitude were lavished to keep awake his yielding humour, and a salute was fired to gratify his vanity. This feature of royal prerogative in the East is remarkable. In anticipation of a throne, the ambitious prince never thought of the injustice which, for the gratification of personal thirst for glory, consented to load his country with a national debt, which ultimately destroyed its independence. It was forestalling the industry of one age to feed the pride and profligacy of another.

National debts.

Counsellors of an Indian prince.

The chief of Samarang heard of the incident, and hurried to warn prince Pugar against any new concessions. "Be not offended, my prince," he said, "if I presume to open your eyes to the proceedings of these Hollanders, who are rapacious in their demands. They had already consulted with me on the subject of this rice, and they knew the opinion of your advisers to be against it; they therefore watched for their opportunity to find you alone. I little thought you would act thus without consulting your chiefs. I imagined the Dutch were satisfied with the answer I had given them, and would not have thought of going to you about it." The Susunan related the details of his adventure, and vowed

no more to act on his own impulse, without reference to the counsel of his chiefs.[1]

A few months' preparations brought into the field an army of Europeans[2], commanded by General de Wilde, with an auxiliar force of Javans and Madurese, led by Chakra Nigrat, to whom the father of his present enemy had presented the western half of the island whence he now collected his troops.

Battle of Kartasura.

The Dutch force marched at once upon Kartasura, and when near the capital was encountered by an army of thirty or forty thousand men.[3] A sanguinary battle ended in victory to the Europeans. Prince Pugar was again solemnly proclaimed. Many of the nobles thronged to him, and laid their petitions at his feet. But despots seldom forgive those who have opposed them. Of the humbled chiefs some were stabbed, some were strangled, and the new king dipped his hand deepest in their blood.[4] Among those whom he consigned to the bow-string was his own son.[5] At the same time he assumed the style and title of Susunan Pakubowono, "the Saint who is the defence of the empire, the chief commander in war, the slave of God, and the Propagator of the true Faith."

Acquisitions of the Dutch.

It was now his duty to reward the allies who had won for him his crown. On the 5th of October a treaty was signed, and Cheribon, with numerous districts in the north of Java, was ceded to the Dutch. Madura also was added to their possessions.[6]

Madura.

That island is the most important of a line which

[1] Raffles, *History of Java*, ii. 208.

[2] "Eight thousand," Crawfurd. "Eight hundred," Temminck!

[3] Crawfurd, *Hist. of Indian Archipelago*. Raffles, *History of Java*, ii. 208.

[4] Crawfurd, *History of Indian Archipelago*.

[5] Raffles, *History of Java*, says this was the only victim, ii. 220.

[6] Ibid. 211.

Situation. runs along the northern and eastern coasts of Java. It is the principal of a group composed of more than seventy-five [1], and is separated from the great island by a strait, not more than a mile or a mile and a half wide, which serves to form the capacious harbour of Surabaya. It has the appearance of being a continuation of Java [2], a point to which Malay manuscripts refer [3], and has usually passed into the hands of its most

Extent. powerful sovereigns. In length it is about ninety-one miles, in breadth thirty-one, with a regular outline.[4]

Formation. Its formation is calcareous, though the lower districts are marshy, and covered with woods. In great part uncultivated, it offers a remarkable contrast with the ex-

Productions. tensive agricultural country in its neighbourhood. The chief products are, salt, which is to be obtained more abundantly than anywhere else in the Archipelago [5]; the edible nests of the sea-swallow, cotton, tobacco, coffee, pepper, and mace. Scarcely sufficient rice is grown to support a population of 300,000, which is somewhat dense in comparison with other parts of insular Asia.[6] Few animals are found, and none peculiar to Madura. The island is famous, however, for its breed of cattle, and supplies from its rich pastures provisions to many of the agricultural and seafaring communities of the neighbouring regions. The meat, when cured, resembles, but is far superior to, the jerked beef of South America.[7] The people are similar to the hill-dwellers of Java, and from them the Dutch recruit the line of their native army with the best troops in their service.[8]

[1] Temminck, *Coup d'Œil*, i. 335. [2] Raffles, *History of Java.*
[3] Temminck, *Coup d'Œil*, i. 337. [4] Raffles, *Hist. of Java.*
[5] Earl, *Eastern Seas.*
[6] Temminck, *Coup d'Œil sur les Possessions Neerlandaises*, i. 336.
[7] Earl, *Eastern Seas.* [8] Temminck, *Coup d'Œil*, 338.

Driven from his throne and kingdom, the fallen Susunan fled, carrying with him an immense treasure of money and jewels.[1] He rapidly made his way to the east of the island to seek shelter and assistance in the gratitude of Surapati. That fortunate rebel had not forgotten the services of the fugitive king, and was eager also to draw the sword once more upon his enemies the Dutch. He concentrated his forces at Bangil, and there awaited the approach of the Europeans and their allies, who numbered more than 30,000 men. This army steadily advanced; but one detachment of it, separated from the rest, was led into an ambush and cut to pieces. A. D. 1706. Continuance of the war.

In the middle of October Bangil was assaulted. Surapati headed the defence. His troops contested the battle with great gallantry and skill, but ultimately the Dutch overthrew them and entered the city with shouts of triumph. Surapati fled. All his fortunes were struck down by the blow, and he carried from the scene a wound which proved fatal within three months.

His whole army might probably have been destroyed, but the Dutch refused to complete their success, fell back on Surabaya, engaged their arms in quelling a revolt in Madura, and lay down to rest during the rainy season. Encouraged by a retreat, which they attributed to panic, the sons of the fallen rebel regathered his broken forces, descended towards the coast, insulted the head-quarters of the enemy, and laid waste all the neighbouring province. Early in the next year, however, the Dutch renewed the campaign, defeated their reorganised foes, wrested from them the principality which they had held for twenty years, and, discovering the body of Surapati, satisfied their vengeance. No A. D. 1707.

[1] Raffles, *History of Java*, ii. 204.

spirit is more diabolical, and none so worthy of scorn, as that revenge which visits the grave, and rakes up the ashes of the dead. Shall we believe the anecdote of this transaction which is found in the native annals?

Barbarity of the Dutch.

"As soon as the Dutch commandant reached Pasuran, he assembled the people and offered a reward of 5,000 dollars to any one who should bring him the body of the deceased chief Surapati. The body was brought, and in a perfect state of preservation, on which the commandant caused it to be placed upright in a chair as if still living. He then approached it, took it by the hand, and made his obeisance to it, as to a living man; all the officers and men followed his example. After this they burnt the body, and having mixed the ashes with gunpowder, fired a salute with it, in honour of the victory.[1]

In Ava it was the custom to dispose of the bodies of sacerdotal chiefs in this manner, their souls being supposed to fly to heaven on the flash of a great gun.[2]

Thus satisfied against the dead, they retaliated on the living. A prince who had aided in the revolt was poignarded, and means were taken to capture the fugitive Susunan. He was too wily for their schemes. In

A. D, 1708. Their treachery.

1708 they made him an offer of grace. He was induced, by one of their commanders, to surrender on a pledge of pardon, but when he reached Batavia, discovered the value of the bond he had accepted. Transported to Ceylon, he lingered out his life in exile. His family accompanied him, and he was allowed to bear away the ancient regalia of Mataram.

A Javan crown.

When he disappeared from power, however, the celebrated crown of the kingdom, the hereditary pride of

[1] Raffles, *History of Java*, ii. 215.

[2] Crawfurd, *Embassy to Ava*, 393.

Javan royalty, was lost.[1] It is said to have consisted of two serpents, wrought in fine gold, which intertwined and met in front, rearing their jewelled crests above a golden lacework crested with pearls and diamonds, which emitted a halo of lustre. Its brightest gem, it is suspected, had been abstracted by the Dutch. They perhaps took the crown, and converted it into its value in current pieces. Be this as it may, it was never again seen, and the king thenceforward wore a cap. He was now, indeed, diminished in authority and splendour, little more than a dependant of the Netherlands' empire. The conduct of the new Susunan answered throughout his reign to the inauguration ceremony, when he strangled his son; but the Dutch, weary of campaigns, admonished him gently to be cautious over the peace of his dominions. Their career was rapid, and their influence spread widely over the island. It was necessary to pause at intervals, and consolidate the foundations of their power. They were now, indeed, the paramount authority in insular Asia. A. D. 1709.

The Philippine settlements.

In the Philippines, as in every other province of the Spanish empire, the strange radiance that had flushed her, from the treasures of Peru, paled, and was dying altogether. Decay was in the heart of her dominions, and in her remotest colonies none but a destructive energy remained. From the first period of their settlement, the Spaniards had seen with envy the enterprise and skill of the Chinese who flocked thither, as though by an impulse they could not disobey. A continued outcry rose against them. They fraudulently pretended to follow rural industry; they became traders, with false weights and measures[2], adulterating the produce of the

[1] Raffles, *History of Java*, ii. 217.
[2] Walton, *Preliminary Discourse*, 47.

soil; they monopolised the fruits of the earth to create an artificial scarcity [1], and otherwise oppressed the colonists;—these were the accusations levied against the Chinese in Luconia, which justified, according to one view, the harshness of the Spaniards against them.[2] Twice, as we have already seen, they were slaughtered wholesale. Frequently, as we shall show, the Court of Madrid issued edicts to exclude from the islands emigrants from that empire, which is said to have originally colonised them. In 1649, a royal decree for their absolute expulsion was published; but an archbishop, then in a civil office, saved his country this disgrace. His influence, joined with the interests of some settlers in the Philippines, consigned the edict to oblivion. There were always, indeed, a class in Luconia which profited by the enterprise of the Chinese. Nevertheless, two years afterwards, another proclamation was issued and rigidly enforced.[3] The citizens of Manilla severely felt the loss of the most vigorous among the population. Provisions became more scanty, industry halted, trade decayed, the governor was accused of acting falsely to the people. He was covered with odium; but refused to recall the Chinese, though he endeavoured to supply their place by a company of miserable creatures of mingled Spanish and Indian blood.

The Chinese settlers.

Edict against them.

The edict ineffectual.

In spite of massacre, expulsion, and tyrannical treatment, the Chinese invariably returned to the Philippines. They rose to their usual numbers, and at this period were once more a numerous, hardy, thriving class in the population. New complaints were made, that, while they promised to cultivate the land, they competed in the trade of the islands, and drew the

[1] Crawfurd, ii. 463.
[2] Walton, *Preliminary Discourse*, 46.
[3] Zuniga, ii. xii.

wealth of the group through illegitimate channels into China.

Hollow and flimsy as these statements were, the colonists were not ashamed to circulate them. All the lands in the Philippines were held by Spaniards. If the Chinese devoted themselves to agriculture, it must have been as the servants of masters whom they could never learn to love, trust, or respect. Their shrewd character, their skill, and their adventurous spirit rendered them proper merchants. Trade was then as now, there as every where, the principal avenue to fortune, and to trade they devoted their energetic minds. The Europeans, without resolution to lift themselves from the languishing sloth in which they lay immersed, envied the success of their more spirited rivals. They accused them of that which only their own indolence prevented them from practising themselves — steadily watching the markets, continually feeling the pulse of trade, and regulating their imports by the nature or extent of the demand. The Chinese rewarded their own industrious virtue, sold their commodities for gold or silver, and returned to their own country to repose on the fortune they had achieved. None was compelled to buy, to barter his dollars or doubloons for the exports of China. In this manner the Philippines were kept in perpetual anarchy. Commerce, when free, maintains its own equilibrium; but the Spaniards, by loading Nature with fetters, provoked her frequently to rebel.

Industry of the Chinese.

False theories of commerce.

Ranging round the Archipelago, the narrative again visits Celebes. Massa Dulang, king of Boni, dying, was succeeded by his daughter's son, Sapuale, nominal king of Macassar. The people of that country refusing to deliver up Arung Palaka, the disinherited son, who took refuge with them, Sapuale leagued with the

A. D. 1710. Progress of native states.

Dutch. They invaded Goa Macassar, and reducing it to obedience, set still more deeply the stamp of their power. At the same time, the Spaniards, anticipating in the Pelew Islands a grand field for ecclesiastical conquest, sent thither some friars, who never afterwards appeared. In Java a confederation was forming to overthrow the rising authority of Holland; and Mataram, Surabaya, Balambangan, Madura, and Kedir, sent chiefs to prepare the league. A little potentate in Sumbawa was probably designing to offer his alliance; but the Dutch anticipated his plan, seized him, and sent him an exile to the Cape of Good Hope.

The Dutch in Borneo.

While the Spaniards were struggling in the Philippines, and the English were timidly watching their interests in Sumatra, the Dutch carried their influence wherever a prospect of success was opened before them. It was an honourable ambition, and their zeal deserved its reward. In 1712, Sultan Tamil of Benjarmassin felt more warmly disposed to Europeans than his predecessor of the same name, and sent prahus to Batavia, with envoys, on a commercial mission. In 1714 the terms of a convention were agreed to, and a complete monopoly of the spice trade was granted. In another part of the Archipelago the Spaniards were vainly endeavouring to seize the Spice Islands, and made their last attempt in 1716.[1]

A. D. 1712.

A. D. 1714.

A. D. 1718. League against Batavia.

During the passage of these events, with others insignificant in a general narrative, the young city of Batavia was threatened by a formidable enemy. The great league, having consumed years in preparation, suddenly displayed itself in arms; but the Susunan was wise enough to remain faithful to his old alliance, and the prince of Madura declared against the confederates.

[1] Crawfurd, ii. 473.

He was defeated, and fled for refuge on board a Netherlands frigate. There a curious incident occurred, which illustrates the manners of both nations. The followers of the chief, with the flaunting emblems of his royalty, first ascended the ship's side. He then went up, and was led by an officer into the state cabin, where he awaited his queen. She stepped on deck. The captain met her, took her hand kindly, and kissed her on the cheek, according, as the Javan annals say, to the European mode of salutation. Ignorant of the meaning of this welcome, she shrieked, and called upon her husband for protection to her honour against the evil intentions of the Dutchman. The fiery chief rushed to the spot, with his naked kriss, and stabbed the captain. His followers took up the alarm, raised the cry, amok! and drew out their weapons. They dealt death about them, until the crew, rallying from their first surprise, cut the whole party to pieces, the prince and his wife among them.[1] When a discussion arises upon the chastity of their women, the Javans quote this story.[2]

Illustration of native manners.

At this period, Henry Zwardekroon became Governor-General of the Netherlands' East Indies. His name is celebrated in the annals of commerce. He introduced the coffee plant into Java and Ceylon[3], whence that fragrant berry is now largely exported. The first measures of his administration, however, were warlike. In February, 1719, the Susunan Pakubawono died; but his cause was that of the Dutch, and the struggle still raged with undiminished violence. The Susunan Prabu was elected to the nominal throne of Mataram. His brothers, Blitar and Purboya, immediately rebelled. Nine of their adherents were captured, and taken before

Introduction of coffee into Java.

A. D. 1719.

[1] Crawfurd, *History of Indian Archipelago*, i. 80.
[2] Raffles, *History of Java*, ii. 222.
[3] Pridham, *Ceylon and the Cevlonese*.

the sovereign. A crowd of courtiers was assembled. He bade them prove their loyalty by the speedy execution of these rebels. Ready in obedience to this royal order, they rushed on the unarmed prisoners and stabbed them to death on the spot. Other chiefs were taken and assassinated, while Purboya, the leader of the revolt, died in the course of nature. Blitar was soon afterwards defeated; but the Dutch allowing him to regather his army, he appeared again strengthened in the field. Argo Mataram, the Susunan's uncle, declared for the rebel's cause; but, faithless to himself, was decoyed by promises of peace within the walls of a fort at Japara. Once in the power of the Dutch, no hope was left. With eighteen of his family he was, in cold blood, put to death. Next year, Blitar was cut off by an epidemic, and the susunan, with his allies, appeared to triumph over all their enemies. Another conspiracy, however, was discovered, which, for the while, engaged all the vigour of the Batavian councils.

Malayan loyalty.

A. D. 1720.

Execution of prisoners.

A. D. 1721.

Erberfeldt's conspiracy.

Peter Erberfeldt, a native of Batavia, the son of a Westphalian gentleman by a Javan mother, was possessed of great wealth, and still greater ambition. At the age of forty-eight or nine, he conceived a project, which in the most daring youth would have startled by its audacity. It was to overthrow the Dutch power by slaughtering all the Christians in Java, and creating himself sovereign, at least of their territories.

Origin of the plot.

The account of this conspiracy is derived from the confession of the guilty persons. Cantadia, a native of Kartasura in Mataram, conceived the first design. He saw that his own influence must be slight, as he could never hope to assume sovereignty over the hereditary nobles of the kingdom; but his ambition was of a lower order. He hoped to profit by a triumph which he imagined might be gained by some more powerful minds. Leaving

the inland city, he journeyed to Batavia. Erberfeldt attracted his notice. He was wealthy, he was daring, he was discontented,—he was the man for such an enterprise. Cantadia introduced himself to the rich aspirant. He laboured for two years to entangle him in the plot. At length the opulent half-caste consented, and the plan was organised. Erberfeldt was to be styled, The Lord; Cantadia, The Noble. The conspiracy, though laid in the Dutchman's city house, was concerted in detail at his country residence, where the members of it assembled in secret to plot and correspond with the native princes, not only of Java, but of the neighbouring islands. The duties of the leading men were various. Some, as the Javans believed, were employed in the fabrication and distribution of precious charms and sacred amulets to repel danger from all who bore them.

Arrangements of the conspirators.

Active operations were to have commenced on the first day of the new year, at the hour when the citadel gates were opened. Seven thousand men were to start up in arms, and cut to pieces the whole Christian population. A general insurrection in the native states would follow that signal. Success was anticipated without a doubt, and the arrangements of the conspirators were carried far beyond the actual completion of their project. Erberfeldt should govern the city and citadel of Batavia with supreme power. Cantadia should hold rule over the provinces lying between the sea and the mountains, while every other leader had a post of authority assigned him. All was prepared. Three days only remained to elapse before the plot began to move. There are, however, traitors in every cause, evil or good as it may be. Who revealed the plans of Erberfeldt is unknown. The sultan of Bantam, who had joined the league, bears the suspicion; but, be this as it may, the

The plot discovered.

conspiracy was betrayed, and the conspirators were arrested.[1]

They were tortured, that their condemnation might be ratified by the witness of their own lips. Under the agonies of the rack they confessed, and unfolded the diabolical scheme they had conceived.[2] Sixteen men and three women, after submitting to the last excess of pain, were condemned. Execution followed sentence within fourteen days. Erberfeldt and Cantadia were bound, and extended, each of them, on a wooden cross. Their right hands were cut off; their breasts and limbs were torn with red-hot pincers; they were ripped open, drawn, and beheaded. Their heads, fixed on posts, were left as monuments of justice; their limbs, mangled and cut to pieces, were scattered as food for wild beasts. Four others suffered similar penalties, and were exposed after death on a wheel to be eaten by carrion-feeding birds. Ten were broken alive, and left to linger on the rack. Three, the women, were bound to stakes, and mercifully strangled. The expenditure of justice was defrayed from the property of the criminals, and half their fortunes were confiscated.[3]

Execution of the conspirators.

Cruelty of punishments.

Two days after the execution, all the churches in Batavia were crowded, and public thanks offered to God, that this horrible conspiracy had been detected and punished. The house of Erberfeldt was levelled, and a mimic Death's Head erected on the site, pierced by a spike, beneath which runs the legend — That no house shall ever be built on the spot where Erberfeldt concocted his wicked conspiracy.[4]

[1] Crawfurd, ii. 425.

[2] For the cruelty of punishments in Batavia, see Stavorinus, *Voyages*, 288—291.; also, for native executions, Harris, *Collection*, i. 743.

[3] Roggewein, in Harris, i. 285.

[4] Crawfurd, *History of Indian Archipelago*, ii. 427.

Discouraged by this awful event, the malcontent chiefs of Java surrendered themselves to the number of forty-four, and were banished to Ceylon or the Cape of Good Hope. There now remained the Susunan's brother Purboya, and the son of Surapati, who, in 1725, were seduced, by a promise of pardon, to deliver themselves up. Like all others who put their trust in a similar hope, they found it a treacherous lure. A. D. 1725.

The first war of Java was ended. It had ravaged the finest districts in the island for nearly twenty years, laying waste the cultivated lands, preventing the reclamation of the wilderness, and fostering the savage practices of the people. Meanwhile, one beneficent act was performed by the governor-general. In 1723, he introduced the culture of coffee. The valuable berry, prized among all civilised nations, is now abundantly produced, and thousands of plantations, each of them a monument to the memory of Zwardekroon, flourish in the sunny valleys among the hills of Java. End of the first war in Java.

The Susunan Prabu, whose power had been secured by a prodigal expenditure of blood and treasure, died in 1726, and was succeeded by his younger son. The new prince was opposed by his elder brother, who possessed his father's sanction to his claim; but the youthful pretender was preferred by the Dutch, and they aided in placing his rival beyond a chance of success. A. D. 1726. Pacification of the island.

They made also a new treaty with the sultan of Bantam. He had already agreed to articles regulating the weight and quality of the pepper deliveries, and now wished to secure the trade of his country from entire submission to Dutch control. It was stipulated that Bugis, Javan, and other native merchants, should trade freely at Bantam, so long as they respected the privileges of the Netherlands flag, while the Bantamese, with a similar reserve, should carry on traffic with all A. D. 1730. A. D. 1731.

parts of the island. Agreements were made for better encouragement of the pepper culture, and Pulo Pajang was ceded as a refuge for vessels in distress.[1]

A. D. 1734. Though their relations with Mataram had hitherto been of an amicable nature, complications frequently followed a breach of treaty on one side, or an encroachment on the other. The Susunan had failed to pay his full tribute. He was now bound by new articles to send annually to Batavia, in his own vessels, two thousand tons of good rice. The payment was to commence from 1734, and continue during fifty years. He might offer an equivalent in money, but the council were not engaged to accept it, unless the rice harvest had proved too small to supply the whole. To encourage the culture of pepper, they promised five rix-dollars a picul to the producers.[2]

Relations with Mataram.

There was another species of cultivation to which, within ten years, the Javanese had become addicted—that of coffee. Favourable as it was to the prosperity of the island, it trespassed on the Dutch monopoly. They formed a compact with their Mataram ally to defend their privilege. He engaged to enforce an order for the annihilation of the coffee culture, except in a few plantations, kept by nobles, for their amusement, or personal supply, but not for barter. The Council of Batavia was authorised to destroy all plantations in his country, and confiscate for their joint profit any illicit stores of coffee they might discover. The susunan, still further to acknowledge his obligations, agreed to supply annually at Japava ten thousand beams of teak timber, for the repair of forts. The arrears of his rice tribute, more than thirteen thousand tons, were forgiven him, on condition of his strict adherence to the

Treaty of peace.

[1] Raffles, *History of Java*, ii. 224. [2] Ibid. 227.

terms of this and of the former treaty. Nor was this all. He engaged to defend their privileges, to increase the supply of cotton thread, and to send daily 240 Javan labourers, free of all expense, for the service of the Dutch. The prince soon afterwards died, leaving a throne dependent on the merchant governors of Batavia.

Progress of other European nations in the Archipelago.

While Holland was establishing, at the edge of the sword, an empire in the Indian Archipelago, subjugating the richest provinces of Java, confirming her power in the Moluccas, extending it in Borneo, and spreading it everywhere by force of arms or policy, the English East India Company still preserved its character as a trading association. Its efforts were still feeble, and, though a brisk traffic was carried on in Sumatra, England saw little of the wealth which the florid exaggeration of oriental rhetoric promised to all merchants who freighted their ships in India. In the Philippines the Spaniards slowly developed their plans of commerce; while the name of Portugal, shrunk almost to a tradition, deserves no attention in the annals of the East at this period. The Dutch alone travelled from stage to stage of victorious enterprise, animated by an ambition to erect the Exchange of their wealthy Amsterdam above the commercial temple of every other capital in Europe. Batavia was already the metropolis of a considerable dominion. Its governors seldom passed an opportunity to expand the circle of its authority, while, it is no less true, the native states continually invited or compelled intervention in their politics. Often, indeed, they gave their Christian allies no alternative but that of conquest.

Celebes.

In Celebes especially, as in Java, the rage of factions, stirred by the jealousy of petty princes, broke up the surface of society and opened a way for foreign encroachment. In 1734, Kraing Botolanghas, a pre-

tender, declared himself lawful sovereign of Goa, united his arms with those of Singkang, an intrepid pirate, noted for his achievements, and declared his resolution
A. D. 1739. to expel the Dutch from the island. A destructive war ensued among the native powers. It was carried on for five years, when the adventurer, flushed with success, laid siege to Fort Rotterdam. He had routed large armies under princes of the same race with himself; but his European enemies, in constitution, resources, and discipline, were far different from these. They overthrew him in three battles, recaptured Goa Macassar, with the crown regalia, reduced the people to submission, and terminated the struggle. Botolanghas died of his wounds. Thence the Dutch turned to punish the inhabitants of Wajo for the outrages committed by the pirate Singkang; but after two actions drew away their forces, leaving the coast wasted by their Scythian incursion. If the cause of war was just, it was wiser to push it to its legitimate termination than to imitate the predatory irruptions of savages. The Dutch were moderate enough, however, to relinquish many provinces which fell into their hands, and afterwards cost them much to obtain.

If we reflect on the history of European intercourse with the East, we find that states once subdued by the arms of the white races seldom or never recover the dignity of independence. Sooner or later their inevitable fate is to be absorbed by the conquering civilisation which has spared them for the day. With educated communities a lesson avails to check their ambition, or deters them from rash aggressions; but Asiatic governments seem incapable of learning by experience. Once fallen they can never be erect again. Resting, indeed, on the alliance of the power which has prostrated their strength, they wear out the trappings

of their former glory; but it is a false appearance. Some may pass more fleetly, some more slowly, down the decline of their existence; all will in the end yield even the name of independence, and recognise the authority of the ascendant power. On the continent of India Great Britain is developing this beneficent process; in the Archipelago Holland is illustrating it. In both regions exist native states which are not yet examples of the truth; but foreign as prophecy may be from the domain of the historian, it may without fear be predicted that all will, at no distant time, be counted among the provinces of European empire.

The Dutch refused in Celebes to claim the titles of power which actually accrued to them, and their moderation may fairly be acknowledged. Their views, however, were diverted from this scene by the apparition of an enemy of portentous magnitude, which suddenly rose in Java, and engaged all the vigour of their councils and the valour of their arms to subdue.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.